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IMPERIALISM



A Brief Resume of the Questions of the Day

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CHARLES W. SARCHETT
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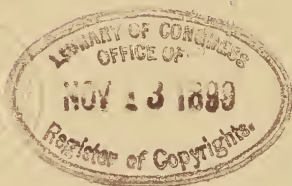
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PREFACE

We offer no apology to our readers in presenting this little volume for their inspection. We believe it to be the duty of every man or woman who can write—and most of them can and would, except for a prudish fear of criticism—to once in awhile express themselves on all the leading questions agitating the public thought; otherwise public opinion might concentrate in certain channels, and the real expression of the sentiment of our toiling millions would be ignored.

CHAS. W. SARCHETT, Author.

IMPERIALISM

CONDITIONS.

There are two principles at work in the structure of our political system, generally opposing each other, either of which, if carried to extremes, would prove destructive to all our institutions. These principles are not new, but on the contrary are as old as the world and have been active factors in all the systems ever instituted by man to govern men. It has been the object of all governments so far established to reconcile these two principles in a way in which they might work together in harmony and thus produce something approaching perfection. All such efforts thus far have totally failed.

This, then, is not a theory but a fact perfectly susceptible of proof by all past history. This does not, however, disprove the remaining claim which either party has made that the principle which they advocate will finally prevail, and that a form of government will yet be established fulfilling every requirement and meeting every want of humanity. If humanity were wise enough to rear such a structure in the abstract a more important question then would confront us—How are we to make our uncultured, undeveloped and undisciplined forces meet with its practical operation without force and without friction? Can man rise in government above his environments, or conform to a system above his intelligence, or is not government itself a necessity of the condition of the people whom it is expected to govern? Again if we consult history we find that according as a nation has increased or decreased in intelligence and morality, their governments have

advanced or receded either toward or away from a perfect form and in such progression or retrogression has been subject to the same mutation and operated upon by the same causes. Ambition, wealth and religion have played their part until the axiom has been evolved that history repeats itself in a regular circle through all gradations from absolute monarchy to anarchy. This, then, is another fact which history proves beyond dispute. It does not, however, disprove the claim that at some time some nation will produce a perfect form of government—a dream which has been indulged by theorists since men have been capable of theorizing and which has taken various forms, both religious and political, and which for three thousand years has been by certain religious sects, Pagan, Judean and Christian, expected to be realized in the millennium.

Theorizing, however, has not been a success except in so far as to give many valuable lessons and to apply new ideas to practical conditions (which is the same as to say that new conditions have evolved new ideas), and that governments must, like all other human institutions, be progressive or retrogressive and adapt itself to the wants of the governed. It is not, then, the rich, the powerful, the religious fanatic or superstitious, the ambitious, that we have to fear any more than it is the ignorant, indolent, vicious, poor, and degraded elements, and not so much either of these as the conditions, religious, political and social, which can and does produce them.

“It is a disgrace to a community to have one beggar among them” is copied from a weekly paper. The man who wrote it does not say in what way it is a disgrace, whether the man disgraces the community or the community disgraces the man, and so far as the condition and status of that community is concerned, it makes no difference which view we take of his meaning, the fact still remains, and before we condemn this man as a beggar, let us be fair and candid enough to inquire what are the causes which led to his becoming a beggar, and not lose sight of the fact that a state of society might exist

more likely to produce beggars than other states of society which do not produce so many; and that if there are degrees of such states of society it is not beyond the bounds of reason and common sense to suppose a state of society wherein no beggars could exist. But it is not necessary to prove that there are conditions of society in which beggars do not exist; there are and have been many such places, and it follows that any community may resolve itself into such conditions and that every community is responsible for its beggars, and that its prestige and standing are lowered or raised by the number of beggars which it does or does not contain.

The same reasoning will apply to poor people and to criminals. The more intelligent the people of a state or territory are, the better government they will have, the more safe will be life and property, and the more prosperous the people will be. Criminals do not migrate to such a state or territory; it is not congenial to their habits; their business would not thrive there. A poor man will not migrate to a country where the people are all poor; there is no chance for him in such a place—he cannot make a living there. On the other hand a rich man is apt to go where he can invest his money in enterprises that will pay him the largest dividends. In all these cases there are exceptions, but they do not disprove the rule, and it does not follow that such a condition of society never will exist wherein morality, politics, and religion will be so blended and harmonized as to produce a condition wherein crime and poverty will be unknown, and, although some men will be wealthy and others comparatively poor, there will be such a distribution of nature's grand store as that every man and woman will be able to do for themselves physically, mentally and morally all that God requires of them, and until such condition does exist our form of government will not have reached its climax as laid down by the founders, and just so far as it recedes from this it fails to fulfill its mission as intended in the declaration of independence and the constitution of the United States. In

our system laws do not count for anything unless they are enforced, and to quote "a governor," "an unwholesome law cannot be enforced." Whether the governor meant that public opinion was higher than the law or could repeal it, makes no difference, the thought is the same. Public sentiment is the law in this country. As public sentiment, then, is moulded by our public educators so will it be put into statutes by our legislators, and if the people lose their liberties it will be self-imposed national suicide.

What Thomas Jefferson meant by the expression, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal," seems to be bothering the minds of some people of late and they seem to be seeking for some hidden meaning in the lines or between them that will construe them into something different from what they say. The words are plain enough and easy to understand, and they sound very agreeable to the common, everyday wayfaring man. It would seem indeed that any man whom God ever made and stamped with His own image would be pleased to hear that he was not created in any respect inferior to his fellows, but was created equal in all ways as God Himself says, for of course Thomas Jefferson is not the first nor the only authority, and he knew it. But Mr. Jefferson meant more than this mere assertion, for he goes on to say "that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and that to secure those rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." Now, if we reject or change any part of this remarkably sweeping declaration we must reject or change the whole of it, for it will admit of no other construction. We must either say equal or unequal; the case admits of no degree of inequality; we cannot overstep the bound; it is a clear case of excluded middle. But the very fact that some are seeking for some means to explain away this self-evident truth speaks ominously for the condition that must exist calling for a change in the

fundamental principle upon which our institutions are founded. But have we arrived at that condition? and if so, what has educated the public mind up to that point? and is it a progressive or a retrograde movement? In this republic, as in all former establishments for the government of mankind, the two principles before mentioned have been actively at work, the one tending toward concentration and centralization of power, having its final climax in monarchical forms; the other drifting away from all forms into a pure democracy, as was sought to be realized in ancient Greece; the former ending in absolute tyranny, the latter in anarchy.

If, now, we have arrived at a point in our destiny where it is proposed by some to be our best policy to depart from the traditional principles cherished by our fathers, it behooves us to inquire in what direction will this departure lead us? Whether we are tending toward centralization and imperialism or disintegration and anarchy, the question needs no other answer than the fact that the present policy of our government is openly avowed to be that of imperialism, one of the forms of monarchy. It would seem at first glance that such an anomaly could not exist, coupled with a republican form of government. Queen Victoria is empress of India, but could the president of the United States be emperor of the Philippines? The answer is that he is, in fact if not in name. We quote from another paper which says: "A republic has citizens, a monarchy subjects, and a republic cannot have subjects without self-stultification." If this be true we are making a backward step. Let this policy be carried out to extremes and it will as surely destroy our liberties as that the policy of secession and disintegration adopted by the south in 1861 would have destroyed our government had it not been put down by armed force at a vast sacrifice of life and treasure. But it is more to be feared than secession, having the president at its head with a large standing army and navy and the resources of the nation at his command and the people blindly applauding his movements. Not since the nation

had its existence, even in the darkest days of rebellion, has the life of the republic so trembled in the balance.

So we have unconsciously arrived at this point and have taken the first step in the direction of imperialism. "The Rubicon is passed" and now let us return to our former question: What has educated the minds of our people up to this status? The pulpit, the press, and the forum are powerful forces to educate in this country where our free schools, up to a certain point being universal, make it possible for all to grasp the three first mentioned forces and assimilate the whole. Thus far if granted that the pulpit is pure as it should be, that the press is untrammelled and the forum unbiased, and that the public schools only go far enough to prepare the child for acquiring an education, these forces might be considered an unmixed blessing if it were not for another factor at work pervading all of them and making all of them subservient to its interests. That factor is commerce or trade dominated still after six thousand years' of practice by the barbarous principle of competition. Destitution, degradation and slavery along with greed, arrogance and oppression, have marked its course from time immemorial until it has riveted its chains on all classes and conditions of all nations, civilized or barbarous, and the people of this country are as surely bound in this gigantic octopus as are the people of India in their religious castes and prejudices. And here again we are confronted with the two antagonistic principles before alluded to, more marked and bold in relief because their relations are more strained, the one impelled by necessity which knows no law, the other by an insatiable greed which evades and over-reaches all law. The greatest factor in education is commerce, because it pervades all the other forces and is reached through all of them being a necessary complement, necessary to their very existence, and inseparable from them. But it does not follow that commerce should dominate all other forces and render them subservient to its power, as will be seen to be the case now in this country by any one who will take the pains to inquire into the

subject. Therefore, we say without fear of successful contradiction, commerce is the educational factor which is responsible for training the public mind up to that point where we are apparently willing to bend our necks to receive the yoke of imperialism. In this act of self-stultification the people are blinded to all their interests by a false sense of duty and patriotism, because forsooth a few rich Americans in Hawaii, Cuba, Porto Rico, and Manila, have, by making a noise throughout the country that an injury was being done to our commerce, succeeded in arousing public sentiment made known through the pulpit, the press and all other channels of thought, so that this is called a "commercial war," waged for the sole purpose of extending and increasing our commerce, and for the sake of accomplishing this we are willing to submit to a change in our body politic—a step toward a condition called imperialism.

As long as we had abundance of public land in the great west subject to homestead, so that a poor, honest and industrious man could migrate thither and by almost incredible hardships build himself a home and farm, a nucleus for a new, prosperous, moral, healthy and intelligent community, such increase in our commerce was a natural, healthy outgrowth of our economic system, an enlargement of our trade, a blessing to our country, to the individual who engaged in it, and to the entire world. Commerce did not dominate these new growths where the best that survive of our country's liberties yet remain to remind us of the glories of the past. But what can we expect of a territory acquired by force already densely populated by a class of people ranging in intelligence (or ignorance) from the lowest depths of barbarism on the entire globe up to as fine a Christian villain as ever cut a throat, whose customs, manners and language bear no resemblance to our own, and belonging to a race who have never made any advance toward civilization, and in a climate where the Anglo-American will not prosper. Let those who can, argue this question for themselves; we will turn our attention to other points.

In the closing scenes of the Roman republic we see a close resemblance to the present condition of our own, and bear in mind that the man who overthrew the republic of Rome was the avowed friend of the people, and all his movements received their applause. The common people were oppressed by the rich, equality was proclaimed, but inequality actually existed, wealth and commerce concentrated in the hands of a few ambitious individuals who so dominated the state that politics degenerated into a personal contest between these few. In this condition of things Cæsar arose, a man who had no superior in the state; he espoused the popular cause and seemed in fact for a time the champion of the people. He caused an Agrarian law to be passed as a measure of relief and scattered vast sums of his wealth among the poor, feeding thousands of them at his own expense—money no doubt which he had wrongfully taken from others. His great popularity thus obtained and the foundation laid, nothing remained but a pretext to cause him to seize the reins. In vain were the eloquent appeals of Cicero, the most renowned orator of all times. He was banished. The incorruptible Brutus and the wealthy and powerful Pompey were swept aside, and republican Rome was imperialized without delay.

The question arises again, could Cæsar have done as he did under any other conditions except those which existed at the time, and what brought about those conditions? Dr. Lyman Beecher says in one of his great speeches: "We must educate! or we must perish by our own prosperity." The most remarkable part of Mr. Beecher's proposition is the closing phrase. Now, if he had said by our own ignorance or negligence or indolence, we could have more readily grasped his thought, but "by our own prosperity!" That closing word shows that the great orator had in his mind's eye, that a time might very easily arrive when the church, the state, and the press would become so dominated by commerce or the wealth of the country that liberty would be endangered and the nation likely to perish. No one will deny that this was

his meaning, for he goes on to say that "manufactures will not cease, commerce will not cast anchor, and agriculture, pushed by millions of free men on her fertile soil, will not withhold her *corrupting abundance*." All these would contribute to produce enormous wealth which would become concentrated in the hands of a few, as in Rome, and enable them to dominate and dictate to the state.

But there are other ways by which we might perish by our own prosperity. Only this last year we have had an example at our very doors of a nation which, if she has not already perished, has suffered defeat, immense loss and humiliation, which may truthfully be said to have been caused by her own prosperity. Spain, once the most powerful of European nations, successful at home in expelling the Moors, at the same time that her ships crossed the Atlantic and discovered the new world, to the possession of which she was given a divine right by the pope of Rome, the greatest living ecclesiastic representative of Christendom, and she actually did possess at one time all of South and Central America, California, Arizona, New Mexico, Mexico, Texas and Florida, with the West Indies islands. Wealth flowed into her coffers by the ship-load until she became perfectly glutted with power and grandeur; but she made a corrupt use of her vast riches, using them to oppress the poor, and failing to educate her little people. By her own prosperity, though in a different way from that of Rome, she perished, losing all her vast possessions and her prestige among the nations by the same cause which now threatens us, only operating on different lines.

History will record that at the close of the nineteenth century Spain had reached the climax of centuries of retrogression and fell to pieces by disintegration and decay.

EDUCATIONAL FORCES.

We are wont to boast that a people who are educated can never be enslaved, and to a great extent history bears evidence to the truth of the declaration; but if we look at this matter of education we will find that it is character that we want to form by education. Education, then, to be beneficial to us as a nation should produce the very highest standard of moral character coupled with the best physical and mental training. Of course, now the question comes to the average mind, what standard of morals would or should prevail to be called the highest? We have very properly banished the churches and their dogmas and sectarian creeds from our public schools and as much as possible from our politics. This is right and proper, for much as we respect and love all our churches we fear that if any one of them should get control it would lead us into a rut which would become narrow and more narrow, until we could see nothing beyond the channel of its teachings, dogmas, doctrines and creeds, so that would not do. But, although we debar the churches from our public schools, yet we are glad that there are so many of them and that they all teach differences, and we hope they never will unite on any certain line, for as the churches are a powerful factor in the formation of character, the same thing might occur outside of our schools which we seek to prevent in them by excluding the churches. They have the freedom of speech and of the press and also the Sabbath school, which is, next to our public schools, the greatest factor in character building now known under the name of schools, but these should be also as nearly as possible non-sectarian. But while we would as nearly as possible protect our free schools from sectarianism, we need have

no fears of introducing God and His word into them, not using the Bible as a text-book, but as a guide to teachers, pupils, boards of directors, patrons and friends. What possible sectarianism can be evolved from the "Golden Rule?" or what possible jarring or marring of that grand moral standard which we wish to infuse into character can occur from the teachings of the decalog? or what possible stultification of manhood or womanhood can be introduced into character by the sublime yet simple words of "The Lord's Prayer?" Besides there are certain eternal principles of right and wrong which every child will more readily recognize than most grown people, because their "hearts have not yet grown familiar with the paths of sin nor sown to garner up its bitter fruits."

There are morals and morals which sectarians do not teach and which dogmas cannot reason away which are never the less recognized by universal manhood, barbarian or Christian. Let the standard of morals taught in our schools be akin to that which was meant by Jefferson and by Lincoln, which recognizes the universal brotherhood of man. The public schools of our country are to-day the only hope of the poor against the encroachments of wealth in the hands of the unscrupulous. It therefore behooves every man or woman, be they rich or poor, married or single, Christian or infidel, to give to them every encouragement and support which lies in their power to give. Out of these schools are going every day, every week, and every year a constant and increasing stream of young men and young women who are to be the future guardians of our republic for weal or woe. If this stream be pure and that character, the foundations of which are already laid, be sufficiently strong and rugged to enable the individual to resist the tremendous strain which will at times be brought to bear upon it, then our future as a nation is safe. But if that stream should become polluted? An Englishman writing on American institutions said: "They boast of their free *institutions*." He acknowledged that the institu-

tions were good and prosperous but he could not lose sight of the fact that they were worked for all the money there was in them, and very often that apparently was the only object. When a man writes a treatise on science for the sake of getting at the truth regardless of anyone else's theory and not for the purpose of building up a theory or of making money out of it, he generally succeeds and is recognized as a benefactor. When a college professor, however, undertakes to teach a theory based on certain principles, say of religion or politics, and attempts to influence public opinion in that direction, be it right or wrong (which question must be settled afterward with many disappointments and some degree of danger) and all for the sake of the money that he can get out of it, such a man can hardly be called a public benefactor. A man might spend his life testing these hair-brain theories and never come to a knowledge of the truth.

This kind of teaching can hardly be introduced into our system of public schools without corrupting and destroying them. The money power has not yet to any great extent exerted a dominating or controlling influence over our public schools detrimental to their interests, perhaps for the reason that should this stream which flows from them become impure or in any manner decreased, that is, if a certain class of the poor were cut off from them and thus allowed to grow up in ignorance (for if a child is debarred from the schools, no matter for or by what cause, they rarely acquire an education), society would in the same ratio become impure and caste would arise, politics would be influenced, the state would degenerate, life and property would not be secure, enterprise would cease, labor be unemployed, and the wealthy would wake up to the situation to find themselves confronted by a mob which, being put down by armed force, would result in despotism. There is, however, a class of poor who are at this time debarred from the schools, and it will not add or detract one iota from the danger to argue the fault of parents or anybody else's fault. For

the sake of future safety, for the sake of society and for humanity, these children should be educated at the public expense.

There is, however, one danger which threatens our public schools, and it is the same danger of centralization which is at work in every enterprise, the climax of which is reached in the gigantic trusts and combines of commerce which bid defiance to all law. That movement in our schools which seeks to convert a whole township into a school district, with a large central building, and haul the little fellows five or six miles every winter morning to school, is the first that has been made by the wealthy to overreach the poor in the schools, and must have originated with some Napoleon of finance to cheapen the whole business. If this move is carried out it will be found to have its origin in the financial view and not for the convenience either of the pupils or the patrons, as anyone can see at a glance the hardships to these, especially to the poor, would be greatly increased, but a cheapening would be realized on the principle of co-operation. But the people interested should bear in mind that it is only a short step from a township to a county, and when once the step is taken there is no limit to its application, and we may bid farewell to the "little red school-house" and the very source of the purity of our social system.

Of all our institutions, however, our public schools seem to be more nearly founded upon the principle that "all men are created equal." Here can come no stately pomp or pride derived from hereditary distinction or dominion to command our fealty or demand our servility, but the rich and the poor, the governor and the governed, the children of the president and of the lowliest citizen in the land, as well as those of the former master and slave, meet and strike hands at the foot of the statue of liberty and bring their gifts and offerings to lay upon the altar of their common country. May God grant that this will ever be so. But if the hand of concentrated wealth can find a vulnerable spot in the armor with which this glorious

institution seems to be clad it will as surely destroy it as it will, unless soon arrested in its course, destroy all our liberties and reduce us to the condition of slaves.

COMBINES AND TRUSTS.

The danger, then, which seems to threaten us at this stage in our development is the concentration of great wealth in the hands of unscrupulous individuals and corporations controlling at the present time all branches of commerce and ruling all the industrial and productive energies of the country, not by the rules of honest competition as once understood and applied, but by a combination of all the wealth engaged in any one line of trade, and thus destroying competition and substituting in its place an arbitrary set of values and prices fixed by the operators, these values and prices being so arranged as to give to the wealth engaged its sure profit, and leaving to the producer scarcely enough, and sometimes not enough, to sustain life. Railroad and telegraph lines are brought under control by calculations based upon the amount of their earnings, and the price of the farmer's grain is fixed for him before he sows his crops, and his hogs and cattle before he begins to feed them by the aggregation of wealth to which he sells. The producer in this case ceases to be a free man, but only a subject upon whom the operator works. He is no party to the transaction, because he has nothing to say in setting the price on the products of his toil, and in so far is a slave to the combination. The worst part of it all is that he does not know it and will persist in raising grain and produce for his master until necessity, which knows no law, compels him to retire from the contest. In like manner the price of bread and meat is set for the consumer, not by the man who raises them making a contract with him to furnish him pork and flour at so much a pound for the coming year, but by the gigantic combination through which these articles pass on their way from

the producer to the consumer. The consumer, then, is as much a slave to the combination as his brother producer. And right here fresh complications arise. The producer and consumer are arrayed against each other, both have a grievance and each blames the other. They who should be brothers drift farther and farther apart and finally become antagonistic, while the man of wealth shoves his hands down deep in his pockets and reads in the evening paper with great satisfaction of his wonderful operations on "the board of trade." These two men, then, who should be found shoulder to shoulder fighting combines and trusts, have nothing in common, and in cases of political contests are generally arrayed against each other.

In like manner it may be shown that the retail merchant who sells to both the before-mentioned parties is still a worse victim, if possible, of the trust and combine than either of them. With them the rule only works one way—the sword has only one edge, but with him it cuts both ways, besides he has to encounter active competition in his sales without the privilege of competition in buying, and in his dealings with the other two parties he gets the ill will of both. Distrust and suspicion are engendered, and dishonesty believed, if not proclaimed, until it has become an established maxim of trade "honesty cuts no ice." Credit, in the common acceptation of the word, is destroyed. Now a nation or a community doing business without credit is something very strange, but this is the actual condition of this country at the present time. There is no credit and no risk run except by the retail merchant, the man at the foot of the ladder, and if he does much of a credit business himself he will be found very soon looking for a job. If the combination of wealth, which brings all this state of things about, is not a form of tyranny tell me in the name of common sense what it is. While it brings concentration of power on one hand, it works disintegration and corruption on the other, and when we consider that eighty of these trusts and combines, for the purpose of controlling trade, have been

formed in this country in the last year, and that the attorney-general of the United States has decided that congress cannot reach them, and that the legislatures of the several states cannot reach them, the situation is becoming alarming, and it looks as if we had better bring home the army from the Philippines and turn them loose on the trusts.

The poor men of the country are not, however, the only victims of these combinations. There are a great many rich men and a greater number of moderately wealthy who for various reasons are not in the combines. These men find themselves out of business and their money lying idle because competition is in a measure destroyed and it would be a losing struggle for them to engage in a contest against an aggregation which had absorbed all the business doing, or being done, along that line. Therefore their capital is lying still and a dead weight on their hands; the banks are getting their vaults full of this unemployed capital. Gold is flowing into the treasury, the papers say, and our surplus is increasing rapidly, notwithstanding the expense of the war (which two things have no bearing at all on the subject and very little on each other) but still it is true and interest rates are falling (which is more significant). The state will not take back money loaned to the county; men who have borrowed money are anxious to pay off their mortgages and take a new loan at a less rate of interest and money lenders are not anxious to do this. Savings institutions are paying less profit yearly; some companies who have borrowed at 6 must now loan at 5 per cent, so that it is beginning to affect all pretty much alike, except those actually engaged in the great combines.

What are we going to do about it? is a question now frequently asked. One fellow, a great newspaper man and politician, is quoted as saying: "First, accept sound money; second, accept the Spanish war and imperialism without asking why; then first destroy all combines, have a revenue tariff and income tax, franchise reform

and reform of judiciary system." As the eulogian said of Bonaparte's character: "Such a medley of contradictions and at the same time such individual consistencies were never united" in a policy. If he accepts sound money and also the Spanish war and imperialism, he must then hold all the money (silver) in those islands up to a standard with gold. He does not say how he will destroy combines, whether with bullets or ballots. He ought to know that revenue tariff is a tax and that an income tax is and has been decided unconstitutional, and that franchise and judiciary reform could not be affected without amendments or violations of the supreme law of our country. Some years ago, if this man had talked disintegration and anarchy in Chicago as loudly as he is now advocating imperialism, he would have been hung as a traitor. But the one is just as destructive to our free institutions as the other. Whenever we hear an imperialist who, of course, is a friend of the money power, talk of reform in the franchise we may be sure that he means to curtail its freedom; when we hear him speak of reforming the judiciary we may be sure that he fears its discriminating judgment and impartial justice. The only good thing proposed by this would-be reformer is the destruction of all combines or trusts; but here again when we hear the avowed champion of imperialism, of which trusts and combines are only one form, declaring himself in favor of destroying himself, we had better let him alone and let him do so; the quicker the better. A man is not honest who talks so; he is only an example of another immoral practice which is an outgrowth and product of the present system of commerce, which is when other means fail, to lie an honest man out of honest money by deceit, cunning and misrepresentation. It is on the principle that every man's goods are the best in the market, that every merchant is dishonest except the one to whom you are talking; these stories are not only repeated to you over the counter, but they are printed in the advertisements of the papers and therefore they must be true, or accepted as true.

LYING A STOCK IN TRADE.

Every age seems to have some distinguishing feature which marks its character. Archæologists speak of the Flint, Stone, Bronze and Iron ages, also the age of Monuments, Hieroglyphics, Sculpture, Painting, Letters, etc. Hereafter they will have a new subject for contemplation, in what may be called very appropriately the "Lying age." Some very cunningly devised schemes there are which, if studied æsthetically, are really artistic and beautifully intellectual in themselves, aside from their intrinsic value as "sharp practice in business," and it would indeed be strange if after many years of practice on a scale never before excelled there did not result great proficiency in this art. So we find in the field of research all gradations from the polished literary, whitewashed, insinuating, fastidious falsifier, down to the flatfooted, slanderous, unfumigated liar who takes no pains to conceal or excuse his guilt, if indeed he feels conscious of any whatever, and all for the sake of what they call making money. It is only competition, they say, which compels a man to keep up with the rest or he will be sure to lose in the race after the dollar. If we don't get that fellow's money some one else will. This is just what the highwayman will tell you, and you might just as well give up your wallet to him as to the next one who demands it.

Competition is defined by one author as "a race in which ten men engage and in which one succeeds while the other nine lose;" they have the satisfaction, however, of being some of them closer than others to winning. This makes a gradation in the scale in which the winning man gloats over the discomfiture of all the others, while the second best turns down eight, and so on down

to the last man, who has no consolation. He may be just as honest, just as industrious, just as temperate, may have labored just as hard and been as painstaking as all or any of the others. He may have as nice a wife and children to suffer, just as good a heart, just as fine susceptibilities, just as sure a trust in God, but one must be last in the race and he is the one. Oh what a rancorous, heartrending feeling of remorse must that man have when he sits down and contemplates that if he had only lied a little more he might have won the race. This man need not look for sympathy from his fellow man; he is down; friends now pass him on the street and look the other way; they have no time to devote to the study or inspection of a man who allowed nine others to beat him lying and so get the start of him in a deal whereby he lost what little stake he had and reduced himself and family to want. There are scores of these men now to be seen in the cities and in the country; you can meet them every day, and their number is increasing; they need not be pointed out to you; there is a certain "down" appearance about these men which is unmistakable. In some cases they are outcast entirely from their fellow men, and, shall we say, outcast from God? No, not yet.

We cannot dare as crime to brand
The chastening of the Almighty's hand.

The greatest struggle of our life thus far was on an occasion when a minister of the gospel undertook to show in a sermon preached from the text which tells about Jacob cheating Esau out of his heritage, that it was perfectly right and proper, in fact, just the thing for old Jacob to do just what he did. The minister was an able man, skilled in logic and well versed in his profession, and brought to bear every argument that apparently could be produced in the case, but he failed, at least, to be convincing. How we pity such a man. He showed in every movement of his body, every tone of his voice and every lineament of his features that he was compelled to preach just as he did, yet all the time he did not believe a word of it himself, and knew that, let Jacob be what he might

afterwards or before, he was a party to a swindle when he cheated his brother out of his just inheritance. Another definition for competition is that it is perfectly honorable for a railroad company to charge 50 cents for twenty miles when there is no other road by which the same station can be reached, whereas, if there were other roads going to the same station it would be policy to charge only 25 cents. On the same principle, then, a merchant may mark up his goods where there is no competition and charge about what he pleases, or at least about what his customers will stand.

If there is anything proved by these examples, which are true and too common to be denied, it is that there is very little honest competition used in trade except so far as it is a protection to the merchant, and not at all for the benefit of the purchaser, unless that customer should elect to walk twenty miles to beat the railroad or drive twenty miles from home to buy his goods. A consideration here which comes to the mind of the average individual seeking after light is, if the present process of squeezing continues, how long it will be until the railroad and the merchant will both be looking around for men to buy their tickets and purchase their goods?

TRAMPS.

A few years ago it was an uncommon thing to see a tramp in this country. It is true that there were some, and also that we were well acquainted with Dickens and other English authors' descriptions of the footpads of England, but in our country there were comparatively few. Now we can count them by the hundred thousand, and they are on the increase. Whatever may be said of the character of tramps in general, as to their laziness, immorality, ignorance or otherwise, it is conceded by all that they are a nuisance, especially to a poor man who is about to sit down with his little family and eat his scant meal in peace after thanks to the Giver of all good, and

he is about to put the first installment in place to be confronted by a lone, lorn, weary, travel-stained fellow mortal who, hat in hand, humbly begs to be remembered at the Throne of Grace, too, and has a story to tell which we must hear. We are now, like Saint Paul, between two straits. We remember that Christ said, be not forgetful to entertain strangers, etc., and also the story of the Good Samaritan and the Golden Rule confront us. Moreover, we have just returned thanks to God for His bounty. What shall we do? Common sense, at last, asserts its verdict; we cannot entertain all the tramps who come along and the man goes, muttering maledictions, while we feel we have committed a sin. In vain do we argue the case; the community expects us to support our family and educate our little ones; we cannot do this and feed the tramps, but the community at large also furnishes the tramps for us to feed and somebody feeds them or they would starve. These people are on the increase; soon they will be a subject for legislation. If we had Canada thistles to deal with we could burn and otherwise destroy them; or if we had rabbits, as in Australia, we could let the job to some enterprising man to kill them all off for so many million dollars, but these are men and we cannot legally kill them; they are degraded, dissipated men and we cannot reform them without harsh measures and restrictions on their freedom, and this, because it will soon have to be done, will have to be by government at government expense. It is in vain to argue the cause of these tramps. A greater question is, how are we to prevent the growth of tramps? A condition of society most certainly does exist which produces tramps, and that condition has been brought to us by the domineering influence of the power of wealth over the interests of the poorer people in our land, once the land of Liberty, the land of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln, now in the imperial power of wealth, as foretold by Webster.

Examine the preamble to the Constitution of the United States and you will see that its object apparently

is to promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to posterity. Now, no sane person will claim that it means anything but freedom to do right in the sight of God by our fellow men. It cannot mean, in any sense, liberty to do a wrong. That would be license or crime. By the laws of our country, we become citizens at a certain age, but it is our duty to exercise the right of citizenship for the greatest good, both to ourselves and to our fellow citizens. Are we doing this to-day under the present economical conditions? It will not help the situation to construct theories of positivism, socialism or nationalism. They are behind our age and do not fill the conditions of universal progressive intelligence. We have examples of their application and results in India, Egypt and China. Men's lives cannot be made to run in grooves for ages without leading to caste, priesthood, and empire, or to feudalism, peasantry, and slavery, all of which conditions so far as we are concerned have, we hope, passed away, never to be revived. Within the last twenty five years we have assimilated a foreign population of over ten millions. Our success has not depended so much upon ourselves as upon the good faith and public spirit of the majority of these immigrants, but there is a minority, and sometimes in a popular government minorities rule. In all our large cities, are whole colonies of these respectable minorities who cannot and do not speak, read or write our language; who care nothing for our history, traditions, literature, or laws. Armed with the tremendous responsibility of the ballot, they are marched to the polls at each election and voted by any demagogue who can secure their favor by pandering to their prejudices and passions, if he does not actually *buy* their suffrages. Such power as this in the hands of unscrupulous wealth is a menace to free government. Justice to the majority of the foreigners who come to our country and soon become thorough Americans, justice to ourselves and to the very life and future of our country, demand that the government should reach out and put a stop to this sort of thing

instead of crusading for commerce in the orient at the expense of all the people of the United States. If we must have imperialism, let it begin at home among our own people, where it will be better understood, if not more highly appreciated. The army might, with great effect and some good, be used to protect the innocent from violence and bring the guilty to justice in our own land first, and then, if need be, we might reform other countries at our leisure.

THE RACE PROBLEM.

Being much interested in the present political situation as regards the race problem in the United States, especially since we are about to take under our wings so many millions of the most conglomerated mixture of human beings on the face of the globe, one-half of whom are paupers or likely to become so, being already fed by the government, and doing all this for the "sake of humanity," would it not be well for those who attempt to discuss this question of race to place themselves outside of personal interests or political "pulls," and take an abstract view of the existing conditions? Consider that we have in some of our largest cities a population which makes it hard to maintain a municipal government up to the standard of our boasted civilization; that in Utah, one of the great states of the west, polygamy is a common practice. The writer remembers reading in 1856, in the first republican platform ever published, these words: "*Resolved*, That we are opposed to the twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery." Yet there is to be a test case, perhaps, in the next congress involving the right of a man from Utah to have more than one wife. All these cases are proper subjects of criticism, and have been repeatedly dealt with. Anarchists have been hung in Chicago, polygamists have been prosecuted in Utah, outlaws have been run down and shot in the southwest, and striking miners have been shot to death with muskets

in the great state of Illinois, but when you come to dealing with men who make a practice of shooting and outraging negroes throughout the southern states, we draw the line. If the era of good feeling has come and the scars of war and battle between the sections are to be healed we are ready to bid it Godspeed and to be fraternized forevermore. There are, however, only two ways by which an honest man can fraternize with a criminal—either the honest man must descend to a level with the criminal, or the criminal must be reformed. In that grand political pageant wherein a president of the United States marched side by side with an ex-confederate general, the latter conditions were fully realized. If this little leaven will leaven the whole lump, then the race problem is likely to be solved and lawlessness throughout the south will end. Whatever were the motives of the president, the “bright particular star” of that pageant was Gen. Joe Wheeler, and no political pull can take from him the laurels won and the prestige gained by the manly and patriotic course he has taken, not only in the Spanish war, but ever since the surrender at Appomattox.

We read in the papers occasionally of the white man’s burden. What it means to us or to other nations in the world might or might not be a subject worthy of thought; if the word “white” had not been stricken from so many public records in the states in the last thirty years, on purpose to make it legal and place it beyond all controversy, that what is meant by a “man” is not defined as white or black, or whether his ancestors were of any particular race ethnologically or otherwise considered, so that he be a *man*. It is the very essence of parrot-like dogmatic nonsense to talk about the *race* problem or the “white man’s burden,” and such terms have only been in use, as applied to this country, since we have set out in our career of imperialism. We have races and races in this country, and colors and colors. Any one can see that this is only a pretext of the imperialists to give them an excuse to attempt to reform the franchise, so as to cut down the number of voters in this country, and form

another link in the chain now forging to bind the poor man to the soil, and make him a hereditary fief of his rich and soon-to-be lordly master and *owner*. The men for whose freedom Abraham Lincoln died a martyr by the assassin's bullet (so history says); the men for whose freedom one hundred and ten thousand Union soldiers were actually killed in battle, besides all who were maimed and died otherwise, are now being shot and hung by lawless hands, and no arm lifted to defend the innocent or virtuous who may suffer with the guilty, and this is spoken of as a part of the "white man's burden." Mob law is taking the place of the policy power, and the only remedy yet proposed is a reform of the franchise. So far as we could see by the speeches and enactments spread upon the Congressional Record in the last congress, no man was so fearless and open in expressing his sentiments, nor so little called in question, as Mr. Butler, of North Carolina, who made the sweeping assertion that the north was wrong and the south right in the civil war, and proved it by history and supreme court decisions without being contradicted. But his speech was in harmony with the avowed purpose of the imperialists to bring about a reform in the franchise. This, then, is the race question so far as it concerns the United States. Shall these men be allowed to exercise the rights given them by the perils and issues of the civil war, or shall they not? Shall they be allowed to exercise the God-given right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, or shall these rights be denied them by force and without due process of law?

This is the race problem in a nutshell and if anyone else can make anything else out of it they have the right to do so with or without our consent. It is no more a question of race than is the tramp problem, or the labor question, or socialism. It is a question forced upon us by the conditions which have been brought about in this country in the last quarter of a century by the dominating influence of wealth in our political system, forcing us either to accept feudalism and imperialism, or socialism, disin-

tegration and anarchy. It has no relation whatever to the race problem which confronts the nations of Europe who have holdings in Africa and Asia. With this latter question, however, the United States are about to be deeply involved, so much so that only time can develop the tremendous issues to us which may grow out of it. In the meantime, however, we are far more interested in the events which are transpiring at home. For over a century, now, our system of government has stood the strain which it was natural to suppose would be brought to bear upon it by the combined wealth and aristocracy of imperialism from abroad, and as long as these influences were exerted from a foreign standpoint we have had no trouble in repelling their encroachments. We have so far been proof against the free trade policy of Great Britain, although the commercial forces of England have spent, through the Cobden club and other channels, millions of dollars in attempts to corrupt public sentiment in our country. Great political parties have been swayed by these economic theories, and governors of states, representatives and presidents have been elected on the strength of the agitation, and yet, owing to the good common horse sense of our people, little permanent impression has been left upon the minds of our voters that will prove detrimental to our politics. It has, in fact, proven rather a benefit than an injury; and so it would prove with any foreign policy attempted to be foisted upon us, because our system is so entirely different in many ways from all other systems of government.

It would be well enough, however, for those gentlemen who are indulging in criticisms and villifications of the life and character of Thomas Jefferson *et al.*, to pause and consider the effect produced by the Declaration of Independence upon the civilized world at that time, and what were the events which led to educating the public mind up to the point of receiving and endorsing its principles. That this form of government, as Lincoln said "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the principle that *all men* are created equal" set up here by

these men whom we call the "founders" was an innovation in the line of civics and economics, the greatest that the world ever witnessed or ever will again witness, there is no doubt in the mind of any sane person, be they born in America or on any other portion of God's earth. And, also, that it was a move in the right direction for the benefit of the whole human race, having the approval of all lovers of justice and humanity, is equally as well received and understood, but the time has apparently come when the characters of these men are to be assailed, their principles and works impugned and derided, and themselves classed as visionists, socialists and anarchists, because these same principles and self-evident truths, these God-given rights, stand to-day an impediment in the pathway of imperialism. These two elements in our political system stand now, as ever, opposed to each other. As time passes they are becoming more and more antagonistic. It may be that we can decide this matter by the ballot, which is the only weapon left in the hands of the one party, with which he may contend for his life and liberty against the other party whom, though not so numerous, are clothed with power and wealth and organization, the most complete that the world has ever beheld or dreamed of. It would be in vain for the poor man, though greatly outnumbering the other party, to attempt anything like resistance to this army of gladiators, most of whom, like Spartacus, have come up from slavery themselves. If resistance is made at all, it must be made on the line of civil strife with the ballot while that weapon yet remains. Otherwise we must prepare ourselves as best we can for a sudden and wonderful change which will shortly come to pass in our political system, if indeed it is not already here. Prepare, then, to burn the farewell address of Washington as well as the Emancipation proclamation of Lincoln. Erase from the monuments of Jefferson, Washington, Madison, and all others, the name of "Patriot" and substitute anarchist in its stead.

Call on Whittier to come out of his grave and revise his poems, especially the "Prisoner for Debt." Train a modern battery on the statue of "Liberty enlightening the World." It is now become a farce. Erect a pantheon in the city of Washington, having for its basis the Darwinian "Theory of Evolution" and "The Descent of Man," to take the place of the Christian religion. Perhaps some of the missing links may be found among our new possessions, and some of the gods to adorn this new pantheon may yet arise in our midst before the clash of this war of extermination for the sake of humanity is yet brought to a close. Or it may be that the exclusive island of Jekyl is destined to produce both the gods and the site for a pantheon which will be erected to commemorate the "Heroic age" of America. Of course this is all speculation as yet, but one is excusable in dealing with any series of facts for a little indulgence once in a while in speculation.

The question of cheap living and low wages is by one writer brought before us in *The Youth's Companion* of April 20th. The writer of this article thinks that it is a mooted question, whether high wages is a cause of high living or the contrary, without wasting time in considering the most important fact in connection with the subject which is, that without high wages high living could not be maintained, in fact, would be impossible; also that a low standard of living could not be improved very materially without a higher wage. "It is," he says, "not worth while to consider the cost to families who have means—it is an important subject however, to those who work for daily wages"—and the minimum (of cheapness) is reached by the colored laborer of the south who consumes 75 cents per week, his staples being pork and cornmeal, a log cabin his shelter and cast off clothing his raiment. He attributes this to the primitive wants of the laborer, and says further if these primitive wants could be raised to \$3 per week the country would feel the result in the increased market of its products.

What a field is here indicated for expanding our commerce, either for or not for humanity's sake. In the first place, the idea that a man who only earns 75 cents a week should be expected to expend \$3, is something new and unique in economics and beyond our present compass in that line, and we will leave it to be studied out by some one more versed in financial problems. For our part, we are willing to enter the sea of speculation at times, but not to the fathomless depths of the above proposition. His proposition, however, "that it is not worth while to consider the cost to families who have means," seems to us to admit of further demonstration. We take the fact that it is as important to consider what a man spends as it is what he earns. If the rich man can consume \$500 at a feast while his poor neighbor consumes \$5, there is bought for the purpose \$505 worth of the products of the community, and, also, this amount of money has gone on its rounds to make glad the hearts of other people. But if the rich man is too close and miserly to spend more than \$5 while his poor friend is unable to spend more than 50 cents, the whole case is changed, and only \$5.50 worth of products consumed. There are phases and phases to this never-ending but all-important subject, which a man may or may not consider it worth while to look at when he is making out a case, either against the despised poor or in favor of the wealth that is bringing about the condition that necessitates such a low standard of living in the ranks of the citizens of the great republic of America.

THE LABOR QUESTION.

Before the civil war there were in the southern states, as we all know, at least four distinct castes, as plainly marked as those of India or China, and these castes and conditions were brought about by the concentration of capital in the hands of the slave owners, making the greatest contrast between the laborer and his employer

ever witnessed since the dawn of authentic history, unless it was exceeded by the Spaniards in their treatment of the aborigines of Cuba, which amounted to extermination. The civil war was expected to change all this, but has it done so? Ask yourselves, honest people, if the condition of the black man is any better to-day if he is obliged to live as above described, and then ask yourselves, ye laboring millions of the northern states, how long it will be until your condition will be the same as his is to-day. This question of labor, as it is generally understood, or misunderstood, in this day and age is a most hopeless mass of intellectual entanglement out of which it would seem nothing but chaos would ever result. It has been so much spoken of as opposed to capital that one never thinks of the one without, according to the association of ideas, being reminded of the other. Also it has been with about the same degree of reason, divided into productive and unproductive labor. The latter division does not seem to us either capable of definition or conception.

There are, however, some facts in regard to labor by which we may yet recognize its character and possibilities. Labor is an effort to sustain life. Applied to man three things are generally requisite: Food, clothing and shelter. These necessities of life are obtained from the earth and the elements by labor. The whole man then enters into this effort with his intellectual, moral and physical forces, and of course the higher these forces are trained and cultured the greater will be the effect in their application. The savage, with his bow and arrow, has to use at times the very highest intellectual and moral efforts to enable him to overcome and capture his game; therefore, the North American Indian has never been surpassed in all the cunning and arts of the trail and chase. No food, shelter or clothing was ever obtained without labor first producing them, although the thief might afterwards steal them, the plunderer take them by force, or the cunning and unscrupulous obtain them by deception and fraud. It is easy enough in this connec-

tion to conceive how one man became a farmer, another a herdsman, another a fisherman, and on through the whole list of industries, and how these varied employments gave rise to exchange, barter and trade, and these in turn calling for the use of money to represent values. But do not lose sight of the fact that unless labor first produces an article of commerce the other two powers, theft and fraud, could never obtain it. Labor, then, is the only honest means by which anything of value is produced, and the primary cause of all property, all accumulation, all wealth, it matters not whether that wealth is dug out of a gold mine or fished out of the sea; grown in the farmer's field or gathered from the herdsman's flock. Other elements soon enter into the scope of the possibilities of labor; exchange and trade have introduced money, and money introduces transportation and storage, and these in turn introduce a new kind of labor employed and paid for with money. Whatever may have been the cause of strife and war upon the earth it is certain that the prime object of all wars have been indemnity or plunder, whichever you may call it, and one author says prisoners taken in war became so numerous that but two things remained to be done with them—kill them or make slaves of them—and the latter expedient, being considered the most humane, originated human slavery, a very cheap kind of labor indeed.

The Phœnicians were the first great commercial nation, and they also introduced navigation as a new factor in transportation. They were also the first nation known to buy and sell slaves as chattels. The Carthagenians, a colony of Phœnicians, followed them in this respect, and Rome, coming in contact with Carthage in war, adopted the slave system and soon became, as she was greatest in everything else, the greatest slave owning power in the world. So we have the cheapest labor system of the world introduced by the first great commercial power of the world.

What is meant by cheap labor here is boughten labor. The only difference between free labor and slavery is in

this case, a free man sells his own labor; a slave's labor is used or sold by some other party and the slave himself is no party to the contract; also, a free man may labor or not as he elects, but a slave must work or be punished, or starve and die—not such a great difference or distinction after all, when we come to consider our modern system of labor as compared to that of former times. It has come to that stage in our country when a laborer is obliged to work or starve, and we have laws on our statute books to punish the chronic idler. The greatest hardship in connection with the subject is that the wages are fixed by other parties and the laboring man ceases to be a factor in the contract, and of course to that extent is a slave. We do not deny the right of the state to punish vagrants if vagrancy is a crime against society, but with equal propriety it might be argued that the cunning deception and falsifying tactics which rob labor of its hard earned wages, saying nothing of fraud and theft, are also a crime and should be as certainly overhauled and punished. But our civil code of laws is founded upon the Justinean code of Rome, which originated in a condition of society where the people and the state both owned slaves, and of course all legislation at that time in regard to labor meant slave labor, and as applied to our times is only a relic of barbarism. We do not wish to be misunderstood in this matter of laws. They are necessary and should be obeyed. But they should be so modeled as to meet the wants of the community, to be impartial in their application, and to protect the weak and restrain the strong and violent elements in society. The usages and customs in vogue in mediæval times can hardly be made to serve the purpose now that they did then without undergoing as great change in their elemental principles as have taken place in civil government and in social organization in the civilized world since that period. And it is only reasonable to suppose that laws and their administration in government should keep pace with the advancement of the world in intelligence and

virtue and all that is included in a higher state of civilization than that which existed a thousand years ago.

The upheaval of nations and races which preceded and succeeded the fall of the Roman empire brought to the surface the Teutonic or Anglo-Saxon race, whose laws and customs, though differing in many ways from the Roman, still had many points in common, among which are those relating to labor. A new element in the problem of labor began about this time to take prominence, although it had been recognized as a factor by the Phœnicians, the Carthagenians and the Romans. The barbaric hordes, who displaced the Goths and other Germans, seem to have placed but little value on locality or lands, but relied solely on plunder. The German races, however, were a more pastoral or agricultural people, and land with them, from their peculiar institution of township, soon took the form of home and country. Patriotism was born of this race of people, and from them we have derived all our ideas of liberty and personal freedom and the traditional or common law. Land having now become an active factor in the question of labor, a new system was reared on the ruins of the old, having two objectives—one to ameliorate the condition of the slave or laborer, the other to make more stable the rights of the owner or master. To attain both objects location became necessary, both the slave and his master became attached to the land, and the new condition was called the feudal system.

This system, while it was a step in advance in the interest of the slave, was also a move toward permanence in the status of the wealthy element, and soon originated titled and hereditary aristocracy in the new forms of government which succeeded the Roman empire. The bettering of the condition of the laboring man was principally brought about by Christianity, then practiced in its original purity, opposing instead of compromising with, and thereby becoming to some extent distorted with, Pagan customs and superstitions as was afterward the case. Ever since this period, how-

ever, Christianity has exerted a wonderful influence on the condition of the laboring man.

This attachment to the soil, while it was a great benefit, had also become a necessity to all for several reasons, one of which was subsistence; and here again, labor came to the rescue. All historians in describing the conditions of countries and peoples, and their gradual advancement from barbarism, to what is termed civilization, have left out of their record, and seem to have failed to grasp the fact, that all the improvement that has ever been attempted and accomplished is either no improvement at all or it is a step toward the elevation of the whole human race, which certainly must have included the slave or laborer as a factor. Considered on these lines, then, the feudal system was in its time a blessing to humanity. It elevated the slave to the dignity of a laboring man, though still in a servile condition; but he was recognized as a necessary factor in performing the labor which had become absolutely requisite both in the mine, in the field and on the ocean, to furnish to all the classes above him as well as to himself the means of subsistence. Satisfied with the little credit thus given him, he put his shoulder to the wheel, and the world moved on apace. Again as society was then divided into castes and classes, and as the Slav or Mongol nations had for centuries plundered Europe, and to prevent its recurrence, as well as to make the system itself more safe and permanent, he furnished the soldiers who stood guard over all and made it a possibility. The Slavs themselves seeing its benefit also settled down and, but for the invasion of the Magyars and Turks, soon promised to be permanently located and nationalized. In and through all this struggle and turmoil waged for place and power by the ambitious greed of the wealthy and aristocratic, we see the poor and despised laboring man as the mainstay and support of the entire structure in peace or war. Toilers built the Pyramids of Egypt, the Acropolis of Greece, the Appian way and Coliseum of Rome. They

studded the Rhine and other rivers of Europe with castles and adorned these with beautiful sculpture and paintings. They furnished the soldiers of Alexander, of Cæsar, and of Charlemagne. These could not have conquered the world without them. Marlborough led them to victory at Blenheim, Napoleon at Austerlitz, and Wellington at Waterloo. They followed Columbus and Pizarro and Cortez to the New World, and even the aristocratic George Washington and the visionary Jefferson, urged them on to victory on the plains of Saratoga and at the siege of Yorktown, and to crown all, they triumphed over themselves at Gettysburg. What have they not done to uphold the governments and save the sinking fortunes of aristocracy in the world's history? Various inventions were made about the time of the Turkish invasion of Europe, and the culmination of the Mohammedan conquests. The discoveries of Copernicus and Galilei, in establishing the sciences on a firm basis; the invention of printing, giving a great impetus to the dissemination of learning, and the practical use of the compass in navigation, all caused increased activity and variety in labor, which laid the way for the discovery of America by Columbus, which, taken as a whole, was the greatest impetus ever given to labor, and furnished the grandest hopes for its elevation, as it furnished the widest field for its activity.

FREE LABOR AND LIBERTY.

It would seem, however, on looking back over this period in the history of labor, that but for one element entering into the question during the colonial period of America, a backward step would have been taken in the condition of labor on this new continent. That element was religious liberty or freedom of conscience, to attain which, civil liberty became a necessary adjunct. Religious liberty meant, to those people who came to America to escape persecution at the hands of other Christian

denominations, more than the right to think. It meant liberty to worship God with all that that implies. With it is coupled freedom of speech and of the press, and the regulation of their daily lives in harmony with their religious belief. This led up to and finally culminated in civil liberty and in laying the foundation for such a politico-religious structure among a community, all of whom were poor men, opposed to slavery of any description, had to include free labor eventually; and land being plenty and of little money value, except the labor necessary to clear and fence it, such free labor, in connection with the ownership of land, inaugurated the American farming system, in which the slave or laborer became at once owner and proprietor, a combination of all the classes of the feudal system merged in one individual. The New England farmer, with his government on his shoulder, his church in his pocket and his land under his feet, was at that time the highest type of laboring man the world had yet produced, and we may cast about to-day to find his equal, if indeed, he has any at this time. We have now traced in a manner the average condition of the laboring man from remote ages up to the beginning of our own government, and we see that shorn of all rubbish or visionary speculation he has no peer. Of course there are many phases of this subject which we have left out, as we did not intend to attempt writing a history of the world. It might be noted here, however, that the Phœnicians did away with this kind of independent free labor and substituted slavery in its stead. The Carthagenians did the same, and Rome, under the empire, worked the lands almost entirely by slaves. We would like to leave this man, in whom labor has reached its maximum, in all his pristine glory, and point back to him as the founder of the American Republic and the father and type of the American laborer, for, in fact, he should be both. Let those who will impugn his memory or his record and draw whatever conclusion may best suit them; for our part, after the lapse of three hundred years, we lift our hat to this man and thank God that one example, at least, has

been furnished us of nobility among the laboring class worthy of emulation.

This system of free labor combined with ownership of land has continued, in a more or less varied form, to be the ruling factor in our country's progress from the time of the landing of the Pilgrims to the present time, though during all this time subject to great fluctuations. It has been the chief incentive which has brought emigration to our shores and the greatest of all the forces which have worked in support of our system of government "of the people, for the people and by the people," and in its practical operation it should have done away with feudalism and imperialism. Free labor has built our railroads and constructed all our public works, operated our mines and made new states out of the wilderness. It has changed the face of an entire continent and brought prosperity and happiness to more people than all other forces combined. It has produced a citizenship of which republican Rome in her proudest days never dreamed, although "in that elder day to be a Roman was greater than a king." It has produced an inventive genius which has revolutionized the world of practical science; created a heroism and hardihood which put to shame the age of chivalry, and a valor and patriotism in the American character upon which the civilized world to-day looks with awe, admiration and respect. Whether this element of free labor was the real cause which established all our civil and religious liberty is now, says one man, "a mooted question." Daniel Webster claimed it for New England. In one of his great speeches (reply to Hayne) he says: "Where American liberty first had its birth * * * and it will fall at last, if fall it must, amid the proudest monuments of its glory and on the very spot of its origin." Jefferson claims it for Virginia on his epitaph: "Author of the Declaration of Independence and of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom," etc. Both claims are valid, for the same element was at work at the same time in both sections and led in both up to the same purpose, both civil and religious liberty on the principle

that "all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure those rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

We assert that this declaration of principles, sweeping away as it did, all former theories, was the direct outgrowth of the improved condition of the laborer in the New World. It has only partially succeeded so far, and if it fails entirely it will be the most complete and disastrous of all the failures of the human race. The equality claimed in the declaration is now looked upon as at least visionary.

EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW.

As to quibbles in regard to the mental or physical (which includes the moral) structure of men compared with one another at birth or at maturity of manhood, this question of equality has nothing to do except so far as the safety of any form of government is concerned; especially a popular one the inequalities of nature, if falling below the standard, should be protected from violence, insult and oppression by their stronger brethren whose stronger forces should, if inclined to lead them to such acts of violence and oppression, be equally restrained. And herein lies the essence of the whole subject, and the true motive of all government. The idea that an individual, because he is by nature stronger mentally or physically than his fellows, has the inalienable right to mistreat, defraud and oppress them is a case of the survival of the fittest and, as such, only a usage of barbarism. On the same principle if an individual is weak, mentally or physically, it does not follow that he should be trodden upon by his stronger brother or be obliged to compete with him in these lines or succumb to the inevitable results of such competition. This is the case as viewed

from the standpoint of natural inequalities and as an argument in this connection has no bearing on the subject. It is the duty of the state to protect the weak and restrain the strong, as Webster said: "To shield the innocent from violence and bring the guilty to public justice, whoever may protect him in his crime or whoever may partake of his plunder." If, then, this equality here spoken of does not mean one of nature, which could not include a whole class, for there are the same inequalities by nature existing among all classes and conditions of man, whereby "the Greek slave was taken as a model of physical manhood, while Alexander the Great was a short, stoop-shouldered, hooked-nosed individual, we must look for its true definition on some other line. Judging from what has been written and spoken by our best men capable of forming an opinion we must conclude that this equality is an inherited right to all men given, because they are born men and not animals, all who are of the human race. God Himself makes no distinctions and is no respecter of persons.

Having now convinced ourselves, if no one else, of the proper meaning of this word "equality," we are confronted by two principles, which appear to enter into the practical workings of equality before the law. It has been found out by practice, and of course that practice goes back to barbarism, too, that exact justice in political economy has not proved as successful as what is called utility; hence justice and law are not synonymous terms, but only reconciled on the principle that some cases arise where justice to the individual may work injustice to the community as a whole, or in other words, it is better to injure the individual by withholding some of his rights, than to injure the whole community by granting them. This is called the theory of utilitarianism. The greatest objection to be raised against this theory as a substitute for justice is the fact that it is such, and as such is not justice. We would prefer to stand by another relic in the Roman law, which says: "Let justice be done although the universe should collapse." But this, car-

ried out in connection with our modern civilization, would not give enough advantage at all times to the wealthy over the weak and unfortunate, hence it is considered best to give more latitude to those who handle the wealth than to those who actually produce it; or, in other words, the laboring man. This is seen at once in the law of compensation. If a rich citizen, say in Cuba, loses his stake by reason of the Spanish war, or if he lost it or not, only so he can make it appear so, he will be reimbursed by the government. But if a poor citizen should lose his life or limb, having no property to lose, his family would have a hard time to convince the government, or any one connected with it, that any recompense should be granted them. Again, the men who loaned money to the government, at a time when its very necessities compelled it to borrow and pay a high rate of interest, have been paid and overpaid on the same principle of utility, while the laborers who did the fighting, endured all the hardships and suffered all the casualties of a great war, have received very meager, stinted recompense for the loss of life, health and limb, and many of them have died for want of it.

One of the greatest arguments in favor of the utilitarian principle is that of security to the state as well as to the individual. The security, safety and sovereignty of the state is necessary in order to protect the citizen in his rights and make him safe and secure in the possession of life and property. Laws, then, are made with the view of maintaining the strength and dignity of the state at the expense of the individual. The sovereignty of the state must be upheld, though the individual perish. This is the same principle on which rests the "divine right of kings," the same which inspired Louis XIV to exclaim: "The State! I am the State!"

If this same principle of utility versus justice was conducted on the line of equity, with a view of approaching toward a reasonable degree of justice, it might become a success, for the character of mankind, by being continually accustomed to dealing with honesty and integrity,

would soon arrive at a moral standard capable of admitting and granting equal justice to all. But so long as it is maintained as a substitute for, and in preference to, justice, just so long will it continue to lead away from justice, and of course the character of mankind will be influenced accordingly. This is the great mistake of our law-makers and has given rise to the passage and attempted enforcement of many cruel and obnoxious laws. We are to-day attempting to govern in a high state of civilization by laws founded upon precedent dating back one thousand years, based then upon feudal and barbarian customs and usages. If we continue to do this the character of our poor and laboring people will become of a low and lower standard, while the wealthy will become more and more arrogant and overbearing until, from natural causes, a change in our form of government will become a necessity. We have been for over one hundred years building character upon this hypothesis of utility, applied, as it has been principally, to the practical side of life, while in theory we have been proclaiming to the world through all channels of thought "equal rights and justice to all." This practical side of life is the one on which we live, move, and have our being. It is not founded so much on theories as on theorems, and one cannot always make it fit either the theories of theology or the hair-splitting reasoning of the law, and must come down to hard, common sense at last. It is the traditional educator of mankind. This part of life, the greatest of all in moulding character, has come to be entirely influenced by the utilitarian principle. We have come to look at things entirely with utilitarian eyes from a utilitarian standpoint. It has, in fact, become a necessity to us; that is, we are forced to grapple with all forces in nature for no other than a utilitarian purpose. It would seem that this would not be so much the case with the richer people who, it might be reasonable to suppose, would, after accumulating a good fortune, be content to live in ease and comfort and spend some of their wealth cultivating their minds and hearts, even if

they were not disposed to engage in charitable work, which charitable work might be made to serve a great utilitarian purpose if there is anything in the principle at all (which we doubt). But not so; the wealthy are the last ones to leave off their utilitarian practices and, as a rule, never cease to utilize everything in sight till death ends the struggle. If a man buys a farm, house, horse, or cow, or even marries a wife, nowadays no other consideration is so much weighed in the contract as that of utility. But the poor and laboring man is the one who is bound down, hand and foot, in this utilitarian business, for he is the one who generally falls a victim to the hardships which it is sometimes supposed must be caused in individual cases in order to bring more good to the state.

UTILITY VERSUS JUSTICE.

Las Casas urged the Spanish nation to substitute African slave labor on the West Indian islands, to prevent the extirpation of the native Indians, for the sake, not of justice, but utility, thus introducing African slavery into the New World and originating the African slave trade.

At the organization of our government, Thomas Jefferson and others urged the emancipation of the slaves, but for the sake of utility it was not done and that blight on our history was allowed to remain. The fugitive slave law was urged and passed, imposing fine and penalty upon unoffending men for reasons of utility. The Missouri compromise was passed as a measure of utility and repealed by the doctrine of popular sovereignty, urged on the same ground of utility. As utility is not justice, we can assert without fear of contradiction, that no just law was ever passed for the purpose of utility. But it is in the lines of trade or commerce that this principle of utility works with the greatest force and violence, and it is against the interests of the poor or laboring man that it works with the greatest force.

Alexander overthrew the Phœnician power, destroyed their commerce, and founded the city of Alexandria to take the place of Tyre in the carrying trade and general commercial enterprises of the world. Then the Romans seized the commercial standard and carried it to the then known world, with a ruthless disregard for any principle but that of interest to the state, which characterized all Roman law and action. The Norse, or Sea Rovers, next came into ascendancy as a commercial, but more as a piratical, power, having carried the principle of utility to the extreme, until it assumed the proportions of open robbery and plunder, regardless of any law but that of force, and almost completely destroyed traffic on the ocean as a branch of commerce.

Out of this confusion grew at least three commercial powers: The remains of the old Norse in the Dutch, a fusion of the old Roman piracy, and the Moorish, taking the name of the Spanish power, finally to separate again and to form the one an organized system of piracy for the Old, as the other did the same for the New World. Both of these were opposed by the power of Great Britain in a course of piracy scarcely less barbarous, but with the excuse of being necessary in order to put down the first two, which she finally did by the destruction of the famed Spanish Armada, and with the help of the United States, the suppression of the Barbary pirates. Great Britain now became the great commercial power of the world, and still holds that prestige, however much we may be loth to admit it, although the United States of America is destined soon to overreach and outstrip her either with or without a clash of interests.

It will be seen by those who will take the pains to read and investigate this commercial history for themselves, that the whole contest was carried on with the most bloody and ruthless disregard for all justice and mercy, and was, in fact, though probably necessary, as sanguine a conflict as ever disgraced humanity and drenched the earth or sea with human gore, until its ferocity was somewhat ameliorated by the advent of such men as Paul

Jones and Nelson, giving it at least a touch of humanity. Out of all this, however, grew all the commercial interests and laws which now govern the civilized world on sea and land, and also out of it grew the great armaments of Europe and the world, the militarism which the czar of Russia desires to do away with, how and by what means history saith not yet. But his reasons, if we interpret them rightly, are great and humane, and should receive the approbation of all lovers of justice and humanity.

If we now turn our eyes homeward and examine into the laws, usages and practice governing our own internal commerce and trade, we shall find them permeated and controlled altogether by those in use at the times above spoken of, although on all other lines we have, as a civilizing and Christian nation and power, made great advancement. We have stricken the shackles from millions of slaves, only to leave them to take care of themselves and to contend with financial and commercial elements, against which their white brethren in the north are unable to cope successfully, and if they fail we call it a question of race. All our great industries are rapidly assuming the centralized form which gives the power to wealth to dictate to the laboring poor, both in regard to wages and to the articles of consumption, which are necessary for his very existence, and on this miserly pittance doled out to him at stated periods the community expects him to maintain his family, clothe and house and feed them, educate them and bring them up to make good and useful citizens; and if they fail to do this—but here we draw the line. Let those who can, reason out this problem. We might remark casually, however, that one reason given by men, why a man should be elected to office is that he has been successful in some line of business, and against a poor man, that as he has not been successful in business he can lay no claim to the office. Such immaculate wisdom in the face of the fact that General Grant died a poor man after being ranked among kings and twice president of the

United States. That Webster and even Jefferson died poor (but they were visionists) is beyond human comprehension. These men simply did not train their great minds toward the sordid propensity of making money. Grant devoted too much time to his great military and executive theories. Webster exhausted his energies on oratory and statecraft, and Jefferson sat down and by a few strokes of his pen revolutionized the world, and the world will never cease to feel the effects to the end of all time in spite of all the gibes and kicks and self-conceited wisdom of imperialism.

The imperialistic and utilitarian principle is nowhere so glaringly exhibited as in the controlling and operating of our great commercial enterprises, whether it be a railroad corporation, a manufacturing establishment, or a trust. In these vast combines a regular scale or gradation is by the very nature of their structure necessarily arranged, from the men who furnish the capital which runs the whole business, down through all lines of labor to the foot of the ladder, making a system of caste and distinction as marked and certain as that which prevailed on the feudal estates of Europe in the middle ages, and with as little hope of promotion in its ranks. The salaries are fixed on an arbitrary scale, not of competition but of fitness or utility, which means for the benefit of the whole structure at the expense or hardship of the individual, which, be he poor or well-to-do, must wear out his life not only in a struggle for self support but for the benefit of the establishment for which he works, which has assumed the proportions, if not the prerogatives of a state, but is not legally bound to furnish him, when he gets old and crippled, any relief to prevent him from becoming a public charge or the object of private charity. If anyone doubts the completeness of the tyrannical rules and regulations in force over the employes of one of these vast corporations let him read some of their dictatorial orders issued from headquarters and he will be able to see at once that they are as arbitrary as any military despotism. This control over the

habits, manners and customs of the employes is paid for with money, and as an investment is considered a part of the capital of the institution, and as such is a question for the company alone to settle and about which the employe has nothing to say. If this system of petty tyranny was confined to the limits of the institution it would not be so much to be deplored, but it is not by any means so confined. It follows the employe to his home, accompanies him in his daily life, marks him in all his associations, affects his standing and credit in his dealings, and finally enters his church, so that in body, mind and soul he is to a greater or less extent a slave, and all this is expected of him for the sake of utility.

Our government from the nature of underlying principles has been the last to enter the lists as an imperial power, but like Rome, being greatest in everything else, will, if once launched on this career, soon outstrip all competitors. It may be our destiny. It may be that God intends that we shall be the great conquering and civilizing power of the world. If so, what kind of character shall predominate, what religion shall prevail, and what is to be the moving and all-pervading factor in that civilization; and will it be founded on the "Golden rule," or the "law of retaliation," or the "survival of the fittest?"

On this last mentioned principle is based the "civil service law" now in force. There is no reason why a good official should not be re-elected to office, but to carry this admission to the extreme of a vested right, either in elections or appointments, thus making it a life tenure, would establish a class of government employes educated in a certain line and subject to no control except the class legislation which originated the law under which they work. On the same principle, and with as much propriety, congress might pass a law creating a class of farmers, mechanics or laborers of any kind or description.

This kind of legislation in its very essence is inimical to our form of government, abridging the rights of the individual, and opposed to free education and effort. There is no reason why we should not have special edu-

cation on any prescribed lines, but these should not be circumscribed by a law creating a life tenure in office, destroying all competition, as in trusts and combines. Considered in this light, it will be seen by all unprejudiced, fair-minded people that "civil service" is only one step on the road to imperialism, and that step created not by society, but by government exercised beyond its constituted prerogative.

The congress has no right to create any special class of citizens, and to endow them with any privileges not possessed by any other class of citizens without a violation of the constitution of the United States. We can do better than this by a return to the old "law of retaliation," "to the victors belong the spoils," for that only lasted four years, and might be endured with the hope of the people and the whole people, that by the agitation of political parties, and by the interest thus created, existing wrongs might be righted and progress made, and the truth arrived at without sinking into fixed conditions of caste covered with the dust and mould of centuries. It seems also to us that the congress has the power, under the constitution, as well to control large trusts and combines when they assume such form as to become a menace to the state, as they have to interfere in any other way with smaller bodies of insurrectionary forces which seem to get beyond the control of the police powers of the states, and when the public safety to life and property demand it. But it is a strange phenomena that in all the investigation of the "Wade court of inquiry" into the conduct of the war, by which the highways and byways have been searched in every state and territory of the Union, no evidence or implication, or shadow of suspicion, has been cast upon the great combine which furnished the beef supply to our army. This investigation has cost the people hundreds of thousands of dollars, and if its findings are true it is worth all it cost. But if not founded on the principle of justice to all concerned, which time alone can determine, it will yet be a subject of controversy for future investigation. But it looks to

us from afar off, that in the very nature of things it would have been much better if it had not been investigated at all, and savors too much of slanderous and vicious practices all around to give it any degree of dignity or of effect.

This, then, seems to be the condition of our country at the present time. We seem to have lost sight of the grand fundamental truths upon which our government is based, and are drifting unconsciously in all lines of thought and action, away from republicanism or democratic principles toward the forms of monarchy. Especially is this so in all lines of industry applied to the practical side of life where interests clash. Classes and castes are rapidly forming and will continue to form as long as we continue to pursue the present system of utility as opposed to justice and humanity and equality before the law. Our remedy lies not in revolution, nor yet in any outside forces, or in force at all. It lies not in combat or the clashing of forces or interests.

Too long has the world been subject to the conquest of power over power, of force over force. It lies rather in the line of a cessation of hostilities of the world's moving forces. This disarmament policy of the czar of Russia, if it could be applied to the world as a policy of peace and good will, would be a good first step in the direction of universal peace, but we cannot have this without also a cessation in all other forces which clash in human nature; as well as in militarism and imperialism.

So long as human nature is inclined to oppress humanity, from whatever source its power of oppression is derived, so long as one portion of humanity is arrayed against another portion for the purpose of gain and power on one hand, and for the mere struggle for existence on the other, we cannot have this universal peace. Power and force must cease to be an element in government, or at least become a minimum, and the maximum element must be looked for in the virtuous, law-abiding conduct of every man and woman, from the millionaire down to

the poorest toiler of the land, and until such a condition is reached there will be no peace on earth or good will to man. We must cease to be merely selfish and learn to be benefactors of the human race. These lines of action will be found to lie in our own form of government, the best ever yet adopted, from the just and equitable principles of which we have drifted away, and by a return to which we will yet realize all and more than is outlined above, or that has ever entered the mind of any student of political economy. Think not that we have outlived either the principles of equality set forth in the Declaration of Independence or the law of love, which is the basic principle of our religion, for, if we have, then we have failed, and some other nation will take up our mission after we have perished and carry out these principles which are as eternal as the truth of God and as indestructible as His universe.

We have, however, as stated before, now arrived at a point in our progress, we believe, where it becomes our duty to choose, and upon that choice depends tremendous issues for this nation and for the world. On the one hand lies the path of duty, in the performance of which we may yet be able to realize, by a peaceable return to just principles, all that the poet dreamed "that Washington saw a thousand years;" all that Webster outlined when he hoped for the future prosperity of our country, "that it might be durable as time and as abundant as the waves of the sea;" all that Lincoln meant in his Gettysburg oration, "that we dedicate ourselves anew to these principles, that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, should not perish from the earth."

THE MONEY QUESTION.

Closely allied to all the questions agitating the public thought at the present time, is the subject of the part which money acts in all the varied interaction of human

life. Money is variously and indefinitely defined by different authors as being "a medium of exchange," "that which will pass from hand to hand unquestioned," "a representative of values," "a measure of values," etc., all of which implies some property of money, considered from a natural or philosophical standpoint. In considering this subject, therefore, we meet with the same difficulties encountered in all other matters where some theory is sought to be established, sometimes without regard to the merits in the case, and tending to mystify instead of to enlighten the seeker after truth.

Whatever has been said, or may hereafter be said, in regard to money, something still remains upon which we may depend as true in regard to it. Money, as money, can have no value except that which is given to it by a government fiat, and that value is only representative. Take away from money the representative value given to it by an act of government, and it at once ceases to be money. It may still have some value in the market as an article of commerce, but its value as money for the use intended by the government which made it, depends on the success and stability of that government and not on the stability or merits of the material out of which it was made. As soon as that government is destroyed its money, as such, is destroyed, it matters not whether it is made of gold, silver, nickel or paper.

The material, then, out of which a government makes money cuts a large figure as to its use outside of the purpose for which it was intended. It may be national or international, or universal, according to conditions beyond government control, and so we find that it makes no difference howsoever much this government may desire to keep its gold and silver coin at home, it cannot do so if the balance of trade is against it, and therefore if our circulating medium were all of gold we might be greatly inconvenienced at times for a lack of money in our home trade or business. Therefore, it follows that gold, being so near an equilibrium in its relative value, is the most expensive and at the same time the most dangerous of

all the materials out of which money is made. Next in line follows silver as being the more expensive as compared to paper. Now, there are so many ways by which the contingency might arise wherein a government might lose all its circulating medium and have no money left to do business with, that it stands every patriotic citizen in hand to inquire into this subject of money and its possibilities, liabilities and fluctuations.

No one will stop to ask the value of a United States bank note, treasury note, gold or silver certificate, or any other form of paper money authorized to be issued by the government. Its face tells its value. As long as this is so, and as it all depends upon the fiat of the government, and the stability of the government depends upon the loyalty and patriotism and industry, and morality and virtues of its citizens, what is the reason that the paper money of this country is not as good, dollar for dollar, as gold or silver? It is, and we all know it, and for the very reason that the government, being sound and stable, and backed up by millions of good, intelligent citizens, has seen fit to stamp it as money and make it a legal tender for all debts, public and private, except customs dues and interest on the public debt. And here its circulation stops, cut short at the ports of entry by the same fiat which made it money in all other respects. Of course, this is said to have been done to "strengthen the public credit," and as a matter of justice due to the holders of public securities whose interest was stipulated to be paid in gold, and we do not call in question the honesty and integrity of the men who were the public servants of the people when these negotiations were made and enacted into law, but it looks as if they did, whether consciously or unconsciously, by these same enactments create a currency for the people upon which the people could depend which was not, like gold and silver, in any danger of being monopolized by foreigners and foreign markets, and for which the bondholders did not have an itching palm.

Be this as it may, when we take into consideration this tendency of gold and silver as a circulating medium to slip over the bounds for which intended and leave us at a time most needed, and that such a contingency might occur from causes entirely outside of human agency and therefore beyond human control or the control of government, it is an argument in favor of paper as a money which would not be subject to these conditions. It therefore seems to us to be a reasonable conclusion that for the American nation silver is a cheaper and more reliable money than gold, while paper is the cheapest and the best of all. As money, then, does not depend for its value on the material out of which it is made, but on the strength and stability of society and government, why should we be dependent upon the precious metals which cost us very nearly their money value, when we could have a better money, more convenient to handle, made of paper, the material of which would cost us very little and the designs of which could not be so easily usurped and counterfeited? Is it simply because it is a custom which barbarians have handed down to us from which we are unable, without a struggle, to free ourselves?

It is said that nine-tenths of all our internal commerce is being done on a credit system, which may or may not be so, as it all depends on the way in which you view it, and it matters not how or from what standpoint viewed you get the same result. Realty is secured by a deed of record, chattels by honest possession, and so on through the whole procession. Corporation bonds are secured by the property and business of the corporation, which gets its vested rights from the state or nation. Municipal bonds are secured by the property of the city, and, finally, government bonds are secured by the concentrated capital of the nation, expected to be paid for in taxes, either directly or indirectly obtained from the toil and labor of the millions of people who are supporters of the government, be it an empire, kingdom, or, as in our own, a representative republic. Who ever heard of a man obtaining money to pay his taxes without working

for it himself or getting it honestly in trade from some one who did work for it, unless he steals it, which some do? Come right down to bed-rock, there is no credit used in business, except by the laboring man who gives his employer credit a day, or a week, or a month, according as it is stipulated in the contract that he shall be paid for his labor, and even this is secured to him by public statute in most of the states. Even the price of the goods which the retail merchant sells to his customers is indirectly secured to him by penalties and statutes, hedging in the customer and making him amenable for abusing his own credit (in which case the man who sells the goods should also share).

It does appear on investigation that this credit business, so much talked about, is a misnomer—a farce—and that the whole business sums itself up in the fact that if there are millions of honest toilers to speculate upon, the nation will be safe and prosperous, but if they should all perforce or otherwise, become a race of tramps—God have mercy, then, on both the speculator and the toiler. But the difference is this: The toiler must remain as a part of the surroundings while the speculator can take his gold, so long as gold is the standard of money, and change his location. Read history, friends, and you will find that the laborer has been left as above described times without number, and in the history of our own loved country we have one example. General Grant understood this when at Appomattox he told the deluded and ruined confederate soldiers to take their horses and go home and till the land. It was magnanimous in General Grant, and he was in no wise to blame for their desperate condition, but their gold, wrung from the sweat and blood of slaves, had been wasted in a vain attempt to destroy this union of states and found upon it an empire. The southern confederacy fell, and with it also fell its money, and its laborers were left apparently without hope in the world. But the advocates of a gold standard of money argue that nothing else will pay foreign governmental debts—which experi-

ment not having been tried, it does not seem tenable to argue that it will or will not until such trial is made and either succeeds or fails.

One of the greatest arguments to prove that a paper currency issued by our government would pay foreign debts is the fact that at present we are not likely to incur any greater amount of foreign indebtedness, as the balance is in our favor, and we can at all times command sufficient foreign coin to settle all differences. Besides, if those people are so anxious to buy our bonds, both public and private, why should they cavil at our paper money when once established, and with the nation to back it up as it does the bonds and all other forms of exchange or money, whether it be gold or silver or paper?

This, then, brings us to the consideration of another feature of money not always noted in the discussion of this subject—that is the vast amount of paper documents in use in the transaction of business, which though not recognized as money, yet in one way or another seem to perform all the offices of and answer the same purpose as actual money. And herein lies a fact generally overlooked—whether purposely or not no one knows—that while gold and silver are the only acknowledged standards of money, they do not perform more than one-tenth of the functions which they are supposed to perform, but are only practically brought into use to supply a deficiency in the circulating medium of all countries and as an article of exchange in settling differences between different governments, and in doing this they cease for the time being to be money and are only reckoned as bullion. They then become international and are no longer our own money, and as patriotism is supposed to end with our own shores, this kind of money is apt to forfeit by its functions our love and admiration, usually bestowed upon all national emblems—a fascinating fairy which eludes our grasp.

When a man sells a load of grain or hogs in the market and receives a check on the bank for his pay, that check, while it remains in his hands, is the same as money to

him until he turns it over to the banker, who then counts it as money until it is redeemed and destroyed or canceled by the maker. So we might go on to show that every dollar's worth of property in the civilized world to-day is covered *in toto* by some kind of legalized paper, which represents so much money in some form or other, and for the purpose they serve, are in all respects as good or better than money.

We can, if necessary now, simply for experiment, conduct all the business of this country without the use of a single gold or silver dollar, except in making foreign exchanges, and as a matter of fact, very little gold is used in circulation, and but for the sake of small change, very little silver. In view of these facts, why should we have such a patriotic love, apparently, for gold and silver coin, when our own paper money, backed up by our nationality, our industry, our patriotism, and our civilization, is so much cheaper and more convenient for us?

On this point we quote from one author who says: "The precious metals are an expensive form of money which there is a temptation to supersede by paper money. Paper money introduces a class of money so varied and extensive that it is impossible to mark the limits of its extent or enumerate the shapes that it may take. An attempt has been made to get riddance of all difficulties by saying that a promise to pay is only the representative of money; but if it serve the purpose of buying or paying debts, it really is money." (Alden's Cyclo-pedia.) But we know that this is the case without reference to any other authority than that of our daily transactions, and this being true why is that we stand by the arbitrary measure of gold and call it the only reliable money, when it only performs a small per cent of the work expected of money as a circulating medium, and in performing that part, it ceases to be money and is treated in all respects as bullion—an article of commerce? That this is true cannot be denied, but why it is true is one of the unsolved mysteries of human life. If we seek for a solution for it among the tons of dust-cov-

ered volumes written about it by financiers and political economists who have been the willing tools of tyranny since the time of Croesus (who was put to death by the queen of the Scythians, by pouring molten gold down his throat, in derision of his thirst for that article) to the present time, when we have plenty of Croesuses but no power to bring them down, either to a feeling of humanity or a sense of common justice.

It must appear a wonder to any unprejudiced person of sane mind, that if all the property in the world is represented by its market value in paper money, or its representative in some form or other of legalized paper, how it comes to be considered a monstrous visionary scheme for the people to claim that there is not money enough in circulation, and that we should claim the measure of relief which would be given us by the free coinage of silver or its equivalent in silver certificates. It is very plain to the understanding that the more money the people have to traffic with ready at hand, the less will be the business and profits of the gold-holders and money-lenders and dealers in money, as a capital or base upon which to make more money. This kind of capital and the business arising from it all depends upon the gold standard, for without this advantage given to its holders, that is, its bullion value being so near its money value that there is no risk in hoarding it and making it a base upon which to speculate in every and all other kinds of money, no speculation would be possible. And if the government or its credit should fail, the gold merchant is safe and his business only increases at the expense of the government, the people, and all other parties or elements concerned.

Here, again, we are brought face to face with another form of imperialism and one which no government nor people can control so long as they adopt gold as a standard. The surest way and the only way to put down this mighty power, built up in our midst by our own duplicity on the mistaken theory of a gold standard of measure as concerns our money, is for us as a nation to return to the

original standard adopted by our fathers, the standard of the silver dollar adopted in 1792 as the measure or standard of the money of the United States of America. That statute has never been repealed, but that it has been ignored and crippled and rendered abortive through the influence of the gold advocates is as true as any other part of our history, and this tampering with justice to satisfy greed, has cost the people of this country more money and suffering and hardship than all other causes combined. So far, then, we have got with this gold standard which is not a standard—a measure which is not a measure, a money which is not money—we cannot find a place in the statutes where it was expressly created, either the one or the other; while the silver dollar stands to-day the same as at the beginning, the fixed and authorized standard of our money, gold is a deception, a cheat, and a usurer.

In olden times, when this subject of money was entirely under the control of despotic sovereigns, and used by them as a means by which they could indirectly, and sometimes without the knowledge of their people, squeeze out of them money for their own aggrandizement, which they could not have obtained by any other insidious dodge short of actual robbery, the present system of the gold standard for a money base had its origin, and its manipulations became known as the “sport of kings.”

We quote on this point, from the International Encyclopedia, as follows: “The laws pertaining to coinage, formerly made by kings or ministers, have been known in all ages to place in their hands a prodigious power for good or harm to their people. The laws which control the qualities or quantities of money, whether of coin or paper, have an influence on the public weal vast and sudden, beyond those enacted on any other subject.” The same authority, in speaking of the coinage laws of England, says: “But the legislation followed the interests of the monied powers, to the injury of the commercial and industrial classes” (which means the laborers).

No man in modern times has been able to write anything on the money problem without making some reference to the operations of the French nation in that line, and those people have had a great influence on legislation in regard to money. But of all their operations those *assignats* have given rise to more comment than any or all others. Those terrible *assignats* have been a subject for ridicule and obloquy in all the volumes that have been written since the French revolution, until the word has become a synonym for all that represents a complete failure in, or an over-issue of, paper currency, when the real truth of the matter is that they were not money at all, and never were intended as such, nor were they a representative of money. They were an abortive effort at best, being of the nature of a land warrant, without having the power to purchase any designated portion of said land. They were followed by the mandates—about which, by the way, we never hear anything, either in derision or otherwise—which had the power given them to buy land. These mandates were of the same nature as our own land warrants, issued to surviving soldiers of the Revolution and the war of 1812. Now, a land warrant would never benefit a man unless he made use of it, and that use must be the one for which it was intended.

When Bonaparte got control of the French nation he knew very well what to do with both the *assignats* and mandates, as well as with all other elements which lay in his path, either as a means or a hindrance to the course he pursued toward an empire. The gold having left the country with the nobility who fled to escape the guillotine, he had none of that article upon which to build a new regime, and so he resorted to a system of plunder, which has no parallel in the annals of history, by which most of the courts and capitals, as well as the churches, of Europe were robbed of their gold and silver plate and ornaments. The precious metals thus obtained by the blood of Frenchmen shed on a hundred battle fields was used as a new base upon which to build an empire and a

new nobility, all at the expense of the deluded people who thereby lost not only their lives and wealth but also their liberties. The wonderful valor and patriotism displayed by the people of France in all this mighty struggle loses none of its virtue by this description, but only brings us the sad realization that it was misconceived and misdirected.

As in France, as described above, it will be seen by investigation that every nation has paid dearly for its gold upon which to build a monetary system, and that after the same has been established, by either conquest, as under Napoleon, or by industry, as under the republic after the Franco-Prussian war, so does it require the combined energies of the nation which adopts gold as a standard, to maintain it and keep it after it is established. So much is this found to be the case, that we find it to be a fact that no nation has ever risen out of difficulties or recovered from disaster without recourse to a subsidiary currency, either of silver or paper, to enable it to resume prosperity and pay its debts by the increased activity which such a currency gives to its internal commerce and industry. Bimetallists claim that for this reason all countries should adopt a dual standard, and also allege that a general depreciation of prices, as well as a depression of trade, will always result from a scarcity of gold and a consequent increase in its value as a commodity. This being true it follows that the speculators in gold can and certainly do control the markets of the world.

Gold, then, as a standard of measure for money, having this tendency to fluctuate in its value, furnishes itself the greatest objection which can be raised against it. Whether this fluctuation in its market value is due to its being a rare metal insufficient in quantity to meet the demand, or whether due to its manipulation by governments or individuals or its use in the arts, cuts no figure in the truth of the allegation that gold has failed to meet the expectations of financiers as a stable material out of which to make a measure for all other values, and stands to-day like every other article of commerce, and just as

much subject to fluctuation and change, and this property in gold, when used as such standard of measure, gives rise to all the fluctuations of prices in all the articles of commerce which take place abnormally or outside of the natural results of supply and demand. This has come to be so well known and understood by all financiers that it is no longer a disputed point but universally acknowledged (except perhaps by politicians).

“When gold is plenty it is cheap and prices are higher, and when gold is scarce it is dear and prices are low,” has become an established business maxim at which no one wonders and which no one denies, and every one goes about his business without stopping to inquire why it is so or what are the consequences of its being so. But the men who own and handle the gold understand how and why this is so, and the knowledge has given rise to a species of gambling and speculation on all kinds of property, in bonds and marketable paper securities. These great business centers are known as houses of exchange, established in the larger cities, where millions of values change hands in the twinkling of an eye, at the beck or nod of the operator. This kind of speculation or gambling, whichever it may be called, for the one name is as appropriate as the other when carried to extremes, is a great disturbing element in the market and is apt to cause fictitious prices on all kinds of commodities, especially those in which labor is directly concerned as a factor, and of course in the natural tendency of all productions to base its value on the cost of the labor by which it is placed on the market; this fictitious disturbance finally culminates in lowering the wages of the laborer or throwing him entirely out of employment. The only reason, apparently, why the men who engage in this atrocious business do not carry it to the extreme of ruin to all the interests of industry is that it is too good a thing to be destroyed and they wish rather to foster and preserve it for future prospects to the operator. Large fortunes are made and lost at these gambling bells with high-sounding titles, sometimes entirely

on fictitious capital and without a dollar in sight, simply on the great reputation of the gambler. All this is done outside of the natural law of supply and demand, and it is of no avail to deny that it has a ruinous effect upon the industries of the whole country. It will be found, also, to be true by any one unprejudiced, and upon honest investigation, that this sort of business could not exist without resting on gold as a standard of money value. Nothing is more potent to prove the truth of the foregoing statements than the conclusions arrived at by the two monetary conferences, the first gotten up by congress August 15, 1876, and called the "Monetary Commission of the United States Congress," the second the "International Monetary Conference," Paris, August, 1878. The first was a commission appointed by congress to inquire into all the monetary affairs affecting and agitating the country at that time. The committee was, of course, composed of the best financiers in both the senate and the house, with instructions to call upon and use the testimony of experts and to make use of all documentary evidence treating on the subject. "The conclusions of the majority of this committee are: 'That the recent production of silver relatively to gold has not been greater than formerly, that the (then) recent fall in the price of silver was not caused by any recent large production, but mainly by the concurrent demonetization of silver in Germany, the United States and the Scandinavian states, the closure of the mints of Europe to its coinage, and a *prevailing idea* that the holders of government securities would bring about its demonetization, that gold is more fitful in its production than silver—that to annihilate the money function of the one must greatly increase the purchasing power of the other and greatly reduce prices; that silver (as money) cannot be discarded without entailing the most serious consequences, social, industrial, political and commercial; that the evil is enormously aggravated by selecting gold as the metal to be retained, and silver as the metal to be rejected; and that to submit the vast and increasing exchanges of this country and

the world to be measured by a metal never to be depended on in its supply and now actually diminishing in its production, would make crises chronic and business paralysis perpetual. The commission recommend the restoration of the double standard and the unrestricted coinage of both metals.' The commission claims that if the governments of Europe adopted a gold standard it is a reason why we should not." In view of what has happened since this committee made its report its conclusions may truthfully be said to have been prophetic.

The conclusions of the monetary conference at Paris, composed as it was of representative men of Europe and America (except Germany) and among these the ablest financiers of the world, are even more remarkable as regards the use of both metals. While almost unanimous in the opinion that both metals are necessary to the business interests of the world as money, they vary widely as to the use that should be made of silver, whether as a standard or a subsidiary coin, and this variation in the attitudes of the different representatives of the different governments speaks more eloquently of the motives of the advocates of the gold standard than all the volumes that have been written in its support. The position taken by each of these representative men shows very conclusively the monetary policy of the governments which they represent. France, at the head of the Latin union, holds a position where she can, by holding on to both money metals, manipulate silver in a way to squeeze not only her own people but also those of the other countries composing the union, besides being engaged at that time in a scheme for throwing the surplus silver of Germany onto the colonial possessions of Great Britain and Spain; therefore she maintains a position of indifference or of expectancy, waiting for the next move on the chessboard. Italy, realizing this, was of all the other nations the most anxious to enter into an agreement with the American proposition for a double standard showing that, although perfectly willing to squeeze her own people for the benefit of her own aristocracy, she was not willing

to have them squeezed for the benefit of France. Austria-Hungary, perhaps for similar reasons, favored some measure looking toward a double standard.

Mr. Mees, representing the Netherlands, said "That while England and Germany maintained the gold standard, no other was possible for his country, but he could express his personal opinion that it would be most beneficial to mankind that many states should adopt a double standard."

Leon Say, of France, said: "There are 2,500,000,000 francs in the Bank of France, and to withdraw the legal tender power from such a mass of money and throw it on the market as merchandise is an inadmissible idea."

Mr. H. H. Gibbs, ex-governor of the Bank of England, announced himself a partisan of the gold standard, but would not legislate to drive silver out of use. Prof. Francis Walker maintained that down to 1873 silver had been the principal money of the world and the sole money of many prosperous nations; that it had ceased to whatever extent to be money, not as the result of natural causes but by the acts and decrees of governments. The only delegate who declared emphatically and unequivocally in favor of a gold standard was Mr. De Thoerner, representative of autocratic Russia, while the adherence of Switzerland to the same was like the yelping of a cur at the heels of a mastiff. And so the record goes on, and the longer pursued the more plainly is seen the animus of the whole gold plot to rob toiling humanity through a subsidiary currency.

Feer Herzog, of Switzerland, favored a gold standard for advanced civilized nations, leaving silver for those whose civilization was backward or stationary, as much as to say that only civilized nations were capable of benefit from a gold standard; and upon this superstructure is built modern advanced civilization. Comment on this proposition is unnecessary, in view of the fact that Benjamin Franklin was among the first advocates of a paper currency in the colonies of America, and as early as 1730

published a pamphlet entitled "The Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency."

After a somewhat thorough resume of the findings of this conference a few questions naturally suggest themselves. Why were these men unanimous in the opinion that silver as a money should not be excluded from circulation? Simply because gold as a standard is totally inadequate to furnish a circulating medium, and if it were adequate would be inadmissible because it would not furnish a means of speculation as it does now, coupled with silver or paper as subsidiary currency. This question and its answer are both furnished by the conclusion of the conference. Again, it does appear after a careful study of this conference that the following questions and answers are patent in its report: First, what would be the result to the world if a gold standard were universally adopted? Answer—Great disaster; second, what if a dual standard were adopted with unlimited coinage of both metals? Answer—Great prosperity.

This seems to us to be a rational conclusion derived from the report of the "International Monetary Conference." This being settled, the question again confronts us why no agreement could be arrived at. To answer this would require a treatise on the financial condition and prospects of each of the nations represented at the conference, but it would be found at last to center in the one all-absorbing principle of speculation in which all are engaged, waging a monetary war, each trying to get rid of and throw upon the others a depreciated currency. At that time Germany was trying to dispose of her silver and France, her hereditary foe, in order to frustrate her efforts had caused a cessation in the coinage of that metal by the Latin union, and so the strife goes on, ever ending in disaster to the poorer people of all countries, and all depending on and caused by the gold standard. For these reasons, and also many others equally as good, we are in favor of the free coinage by the government of the United States of both gold and silver in practically unlimited quantities. In relation to our banking system

it would not affect it in any manner detrimental to its interests; being founded, as it is, upon the industries and wealth of the whole nation, free coinage would be a blessing to it rather than an injury. But to the poor and laboring people of America it would prove the greatest blessing of the Nineteenth Century, because it would serve in a manner to checkmate and counterbalance the tendency of gold to control, by its fluctuations, the markets and prices of the productions of the industries of the world. For this reason, also, it would serve to break down trusts and combines which are only formed for the purpose of controlling and fixing prices.

THE STANDARD AND RATIO.

Our present banking system having been called into existence by the necessity of a paper currency and founded on government securities or bonds would be more seriously affected by legalizing the standard of gold than by a return to the standard of silver, because at the present time an individual wishing to engage in banking can buy his bonds with any and all kinds of money in circulation; but if gold is made the legal standard it will become necessary to buy those bonds with gold or its equivalent, so that it would revolutionize the entire structure, placing our banking system on a gold basis instead of paper as is now the case, for it will be found that at present the only gold compulsory clause is that requiring the reserves to be deposited in gold.

A return to the silver standard would obviate all these difficulties as well as many others that will arise if the gold standard of measure is ever legalized in this country, and that will probably be the business of the next congress. We have got to face this question of a legal standard of money, for strange as it is, yet it is nevertheless true, that we have been doing business since 1853, or at least since 1873, on an assumption either that gold was our standard or that a paper currency was our money,

measured perhaps, at times, by foreign gold coin. We have been at sea in this matter of a standard long enough and it is now proposed to obviate the difficulty by making gold our legal standard of measure.

What the effects of such legislation will be upon the labor and industries of our country can better be imagined than described, for so manifold will be its far-reaching influences that nothing will escape the ruin and disaster which, in our opinion, will be sure to follow. While it would raise the price of gold all over the world it would, in proportion, depreciate silver and all paper currency, thus lowering the prices of all commodities and in the end bring financial ruin to all the poorer classes of the people. It would result in legislating money out of the hands of the poor into the hands of the wealthy, a system of legalized robbery through class legislation. Besides, the influences which will be brought to bear to cause this change in our finances will not be wholly our own, but will be principally exerted from a foreign standpoint for the benefit of foreign gold owners. Why any man with a spark of patriotism in his breast could be brought to support such a measure is certainly one of the unsolved problems of the money question. If gold is made our legal standard of measure it will encircle the world in the effect it will have on commerce, and as a measure of oppression to the poor and of emolument to the wealthy may just as well be dictated from London, Berlin, or St. Petersburg as from the congress of the United States at Washington. But upon our own people it will, of course, have the most immediate results. All promissory notes, contracts or promises to pay will then be considered payable in gold or its equivalent—farm loan notes and mortgage securities of all kinds included—no gold clause will then be necessary to force payment. The exchange systems of Europe and the world will be brought to our homes, operating in our banks and, along with the combines and trusts, setting the price upon our toil, the products of our labor in all lines, and of course on the bread we eat and the clothing we wear—without our con-

sent, unless such consent is given to the legislation which establishes this condition of Imperialism.

In this connection we cannot fail to notice the close affiliation that seems to us to exist between the results to labor either of free trade or a universal gold standard, as either of these would have a tendency to measure values, especially of the products of labor, by one universal standard, varied, of course, by degrees of intelligence, natural resources and climatic conditions, and except for these latter-named variations would place the laboring man of the United States on an exact footing with those of India, Africa and Europe. Can we do this without degrading the condition of our toiling people to the extent that they will be driven from all lines of industry and become, in time, nomadic in their habits; cease to educate their offspring; and lose their citizenship by having no fixed place of abode? No country on the globe is so rich in resources from which labor can draw its reward as our own, and it has given forth tremendous returns, but this is no excuse for us to cripple the efforts of labor by such atrocious legislation as legalizing the gold standard.

Also, in connection with this subject, we cannot avoid the issues which are bound to arise in relation to our money if we retain possession of Cuba and the Philippine islands. Already, from actual contact in commerce, our money is fast taking the place of the native circulating medium of those people, and what has happened in all ages to all conquered provinces will inevitably happen to them. The money of Spain will retire with the Spaniard, and whenever those islands become United States territory we will have to furnish them with our circulating medium. Those people have always been used to silver money and will be best satisfied with its use, but unless our object is to be to plunder and oppress them we cannot satisfy these people or purchase their own silver which will be thrown out of circulation without resorting to either a silver standard or bimetallism. Otherwise it would be an increased burden for our home

government to hold such a mass of silver on a par with a gold standard, whether the same is legalized or not.

THE PARITY.

This brings us to a consideration of the parity or ratio which exists, and always will exist, between gold and silver, either when considered as money or as bullion, and we find upon investigation that this ratio is continually changing in spite of legislative and all other attempts to bring it to a fixed unit. To prove this we might quote the history of every nation or combination of nations who have had anything to do with it. All have failed to fix a parity between the two metals which has remained stationary any great length of time. This being true leads us to the next question which naturally suggests itself: What are the causes which produce this continual variation? Among these causes, of course, the first in order, if not in force, is the relative production of the two metals; and this, though varying from time to time, seems to stand to-day about the same as it did a thousand years ago, and the production of both have about kept pace with the increase in wealth of the world, which is natural and inevitable and could not be otherwise so long as we use those two metals as a means for all other values.

Again, we reason that if the true cause of this variation was in the inequality in production it would be regular in its effects and either increase continually until one or the other of the metals would reach a minimum value or become worthless, or else it would gradually decrease until the metals would find an equilibrium. But it has not taken this natural course, and neither of these conditions have been developed, but on the contrary the variation has gone up and down, above and below a certain point, which point has never been fixed and must lay as a medium between the two extremes of the variation. Now, it seems to us that we fail to find in natural

relative production a true cause for this continual variation in the ratio and must look somewhere else for such cause.

We turn, then, to the next cause in order, which is the use of gold and silver in the arts. Now, it seems strange, but we are not using so much of the precious metals in the arts according to our own wealth as was used by the ancients. Our modern civilization has no affinity for the massive gold and silver ornaments both to person and property in use long ago. The gold and silver utensils of all kinds, as well as the gold and silver gods of the ancients, have been melted into coin for our use in purchasing other beautiful and useful articles of commerce which inventive genius has provided for us and which suit us much better. There seems to be no demand either for gold or silver in the arts sufficient to cause a fluctuation in the ratio between the two metals, and no reason to believe that at the present time the use of gold and silver in the arts cuts any figure at all. So we must look again for a cause, and that cause, we believe, is found in legislation and manipulation, and these forces are exerted for the purpose of speculation.

As soon as any nation or government establishes a ratio between gold and silver it will be found to be the business of other governments, as well as of individuals, to go to work at once to attempt to destroy that ratio, and this is done sooner or later either by counter-legislation of other governments or by investments of individuals, or of both together, and always for speculation. We have been running for twenty-five years on an assumed standard of gold, with an actual standard of silver held at par with gold, at a ratio of one to fifteen and nine hundred and eighty-eight one-thousandths, or very nearly sixteen to one. We have done this and been prosperous in spite of all the machinations of gold speculators and the counter-legislation of designing governments. Practically, we have had at times free coinage of silver. If we can do this on an assumption we can do better still on a reality by a return to the standard of silver at the same

ratio we are now using. But if we change all this by legalizing the gold standard we are liable to bring disaster to our own people and increased oppression to the laboring people of the world.

The fact that the United States has been able for a quarter of a century to hold all her silver and paper money in circulation at a par with gold proves that bimetallism can be maintained by legislation on a silver standard at a fixed ratio between the two metals. It also proves that the ratio in force during this period has only been caused to vary by legislation and manipulation, and but for these would have remained nearly the same throughout. The silver and paper in circulation now, so long as it is held at par with gold, serves the same purpose as bimetallism—tending to set free that much gold and thereby making it more plentiful and cheap in the market. But if we change all this by legalizing the gold standard then nothing will represent gold in the market but gold or its equivalent in silver or paper, and it will be found that the ratio, whether fixed or not, will vary according to the quantity of the gold supply, whether that is furnished by the mines or the speculators. This will be placing in the hands of the wealthy who can command gold the same power once exercised by despotic sovereigns.

OUR CHOICE.

We leave off this subject with the greatest regret that we can not be any more explicit or make it more plain to the understanding of our readers.

Two things are necessary for the maintenance of our liberties—the intelligence of our voters and the wealth of our people. We cannot curtail the one or restrict the other (unless it is done for the public good) without great danger to all. Whenever we reach that stage in our social development when the poorer people will be unable to maintain the standard of intelligence necessary to constitute them self-acting, self-governing voters, and the

richer people consider it a burden to hold them up to that standard, then but one alternative remains and that is to disfranchise the masses. We will then cease to be a popular government, and we will soon reach that point unless something is done to counteract the movement. We cannot, at this time, avoid the consideration of this subject or shirk our responsibilities. You cannot kill a cause any quicker or by any more effectual means than by simply ignoring it.

"Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." It is the duty of every man and woman to guard and guide the public thought for the public weal, and to see to it that we do not sail blindly into those channels and upon those shoals which have wrecked so many nations before us, and thereby lose our own liberties and furnish no safeguard for those with whom we come in contact, while we leave to our posterity only the legacy of a name. We have been so short a time, and have displayed such wonderful energy, in developing the wonderful natural resources of this new continent of America, that our energies in accumulating material wealth have acquired an impetus in all lines never before attained by any nation or people. Two things have contributed in a large degree to our success—the great natural resources of our country and the intelligence, industry and virtue of our people, the high standard of our toiling millions, made so by free education and the exercise of that liberty bequeathed to us by our fathers. Our resources are not exhausted, our energies unabated and increasing.

But we have arrived at a point, it seems to us, where it behooves us to pause and inquire in what direction we shall hereafter direct this great increasing energy—these vast, almost boundless, resources. It is not with us a question of power or of resources, but of expediency of policy of morality; not a question as to what we can do, so much as it is a question of what we should do, with the tremendous forces which, as a nation, we now possess. The United States can, and will, perhaps, absorb the West Indies. She can, and will, conquer and absorb the

Philippines, and it lies in the scope of her power to dominate the world, but for what purpose and to what end? The great militarisms of Europe have apparently reached their climax. Their rivers are studded with fortifications which bristle with armaments in the hands of skilled soldiers. Their lakes and rivers and ocean coasts are darkly specked over with frowning warships. All this is upheld by money obtained from their people by despotic power, for the purpose of holding in check the aspirations of those people for that liberty and equality before the law which we enjoy. Shall we imitate those militarisms and line ourselves up alongside of them as the oppressors of mankind, simply because we can and will, if we do so, outstrip them all in the controlling power of our imperialism, although in doing so we lose our liberties and find ourselves with an exhausted country and an oppressed people? Or shall we continue to work on along those lines of truth, justice and righteousness, by which we have attained whatever of strength, of ability, or of grandeur that is now accredited to us by other nations and other peoples?

All powers or forces when exerted for evil purposes carry with them the elements of self-destruction. We see in the combines and trusts which have destroyed competition, only its climax reached after centuries of commercial strife by man, to over-reach and outstrip and thereby rob his fellowmen. And although this has been done under legal forms, with at least the color of law, its evil tendencies have at last obtained control, utility has usurped the forms of justice, and suicide is the result.

We see, also, in the great armies and navies in the world, held up and supported as they are, by the sweat and toil and suffering of the millions of oppressed people whom they overawe and dominate, the climax of the principle that "might makes right," the culmination of that militarism which has ever been exerted to oppress humanity. In their present form and attitude these mighty forces have apparently exhausted all the resources of the countries which maintain them and are now com-

ing so near the danger line that in the opinion of the greatest absolutist in the world they should be disarmed and abandoned.

Self-destruction inevitably awaits these great forces, either by a clash in wars which will and can only end in the destruction of two-thirds of the population of the world or else they will peaceably be dissolved for lack of self-support, and in either case will only prove the truth of the assertion that "The paths of glory lead but to the grave." The powers of evil and of darkness in the world to-day are concentrating their forces apparently for a final contest. All are taking this imperial concentrating, dominating form until it would seem nothing can be done outside these forces, to save the world from one headlong plunge into oblivion. But God, in His infinite wisdom, has so arranged it that these contending forces have, all of them, within themselves the elements of self-destruction.

When the fence encloses the world it is a waste of labor to put up the bars or shut the gate. Rome absorbed the world, but could not digest or assimilate it, and the world in turn destroyed Rome. We have only to open our eyes from sleep these days to realize the picture drawn by Goldsmith in "The Deserted Village." The question now confronts every American citizen, whether they realize it or not--shall we join our forces, intellectual, physical and material, to this great crusade of the powers of evil against truth and justice and humanity, or shall we continue as heretofore, to work in harmony with those great principles which have given us all our prestige and all we have of liberty that is worth preserving, both civil and religious? This question cannot be evaded or lain lightly aside. It confronts us in every avenue of life. There is a power in the world to-day which is reaching out after, and testing, the hearts of men and demanding a solution to this question. The commercial world is shaken to its very foundation by this all-absorbing, all-pervading problem. Every business man, every banker or broker, every tradesman,

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mechanic or laborer, is debating in his mind to-day the appeal to his heart and judgment that this question is making. All the professions are coming face to face with it, and the educators are appalled at the magnitude of the vicissitudes and possibilities which it brings to their view. The clergymen carry it into the pulpit and the lawyers bring it daily before the bar of public justice where it demands a solution, and judges and justices are wrestling with its essence and its ethics.

Answer this question, ye American people, but answer it as you would answer for your souls before the bar of God. Let it be to your credit that it be answered in favor of the down-trodden and oppressed of every land and clime. In favor of truth and justice and humanity, which our religion has taught us, our ethics have so far preserved for us, and which our fathers in the beginning bequeathed to us.

THE END.

Imperialism





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